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## Near East/South Asia Report

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5 June 1985

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## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

## ARABIAN GULF UNIVERSITY'S PROGRAMS DESCRIBED

## Advances in Programs

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 10 Mar 85 p 8

/Article by 'Abdallah al-Jafri: "The Arabian Gulf University: Advanced Qualitative Step in the Process of Higher Education in the Gulf; University Presents an Innovative Solution for Gulf Scientific Cooperation and Coordination; Sophisticated Environmental Center Specializing in Higher Studies"/

/Text/ The idea for founding this Gulf university emanated from the outcome of the first conference of the ministers of education and culture of the Arab Gulf countries convened in the city of Riyadh in 1395 Hegira, corresponding to 1975 A.D. The conference then passed its gift resolution forming a technical committee "to study the possibility of establishing a joint university, which would contribute to achieving coordination and cooperation among the Arab Gulf countries in the areas of higher and academic education."

Meanwhile, no universities were available, as they are now available in their present number, in the Gulf area.

There were universities only in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the State of Kuwait and Iraq, while the remaining Gulf countries stood in dire need of academic services to be able to jump on the bandwagon of advanced science.

At the outset, the idea was born to establish "The Arabian Gulf University," which would serve as a university for the Gulf and which would give precedence, so far as benefits are concerned, to the countries which had not yet established universities. Furthermore, the remaining Gulf countries would benefit from this scientific breakthrough, which would achieve "an advanced qualitative step taken on the path of higher education."

From the premise of this pressing desire, intensive and comprehensive studies were conducted and they resulted in a recommendation being passed by the Second General Congress of the ministers of education and culture, convened in 1397 Hegira. The conference recommended that the "Arab Educational Office of the Gulf States" should complete the studies on the establishment of the university and that part of the office's budget for projects should be spent on this ideal

In view of the fact that studies would last a period ranging between 4 and 5 years, the remaining countries of the Gulf did not wait, and each country thought of setting up a university. However, the idea was resuscitated in 1979 under the canopy of establishing other universities in the remaining countries of the Gulf!

/Question/ Therefore, the general "conception" of the idea to establish "The Arabian Gulf University" differed from the basic idea. How?

Dr Mahmud Muhammad Safar, president of the Gulf University, answered:

"We have said that the conception has now differed following the establishment of numerous universities in the Gulf area. Therefore, it is imperative that we again think of the university's objectives in a way which would endow the university with a greater role that is complementary to the role of all the Gulf's universities. For this purpose, we have attracted a group of international scientists and experts--Arab and otherwise. We also held a seminar in May 1983--from the 9th to the 13th which we called the Seminar on the Future Conceptions of the Arabian Gulf University. The seminar was convened in Bahrain and we invited the elite from all over the world to attend it, so that they will participate in the seminar with the sons of the area and with its scientists and experts.

"For instance, we have invited Ahmad Zaki Yamani, the minister of petroleum and mineral resources in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, to project the area's future so far as its oil resources are concerned, that is, in the 21st century. We asked him to lay down conceptions of what the state of the area will be like and of the role of our area at this time.

"We invited Dr Ghazi al-Qusaybi to talk from the intellectual and political perspectives.

"We have also invited Dr Sa'd al-Din Ibrahim, an Egyptian instructor at the American University of Cairo.

"We invited others too, so that this seminar will be one of conflict of ideas and of labor for the birth of ideas: how will the Gulf University be established in this state of affairs?

"We have achieved specific recommendations, which have been made by the seminar following meetings that lasted 5 days. We have also laid down a structure as well as new ideas, and we specified priorities for scientific specializations such as education and scientific research."

/Question/ What have you concluded?

/Answer/ We have concluded that the university should dedicate itself to scientific research and to higher studies more than it should dedicate itself to usual academic studies--and this will be the university's focal point of interest, so that we will serve the major objective.



We have made the university's services more of a qualitative, than of a quantitative, nature.

/Question/ And the dimensions of this university's services?

/Answer/ A civic dimension--an Islamic and Arab dimension. In this dimension, we center our interest on paying attention to culture, the sciences, Arab and Islamic literature, civilization and the specializations sought by the future of the Gulf.

#### Scientific and Environmental Programs

/Question/ Which are the most important programs with which the university will concern itself?

/Answer/ It will especially pursue an environmental, realistic and social course to serve the environment and the community of Arab countries in the Arab Gulf. For instance, the university will conduct a study of the sciences of the desert and a study of oceanography, coupled with concentrating its interest on the issues of development and of civic evolution. It will also pursue the course of exploring the means of bringing forth technology from the environment of the area to sidestep the appearance of a futile imported technology. In addition, the university will pursue the course of waging a pioneering competition to keep abreast of scientific developments in the 21st century, with all the things with which this century will be connected, including man's invasion of outer space and the exploration of the unknown realms of outer space.

/Question/ What is the number of male and female students which the university will accommodate?

/Answer/ Some 5,000 male and female students will be the total and final maximum number, after we have reduced this number from 10,000. The vast majority of these students will be inclined toward higher studies and scientific research.

If we want to offer academic studies, it is imperative that we emphasize two criteria:

1. That the area be in need of this academic specialization and that there be no comparable specialization in the Gulf's universities.
2. That the need exist for this specialization, which is available in some of the universities in the area but is not sufficient to meet the need for this specialization.

Therefore, we have two kinds of codification, which will be laid down for academic studies through both criteria. Apart from this, the door will be open to higher studies.

This conception has led the decisionmakers urgently to establish three colleges:

--The College of Medicine and Medical Studies.

--The College of Sciences.

--The College of Education.

The implementation of this conception has begun with the establishment of the "College of Medicine and Medical Sciences" in implementing the decision made by the competent ministers.

#### Medical and Creative Education

When in 1983 we convened the seminar on conceptions for the future, we submitted to the participants the decision on the establishment of the three colleges. It has become necessary to restructure the three colleges so that they will serve the university's objectives, and it is imperative to rechannel the services of these colleges toward the new course. This led us to apply, in the first college which was established, "creative medical education," and it is different from all the medical sciences that are taught in the colleges of medicine of the universities in the area--both in method and in performance.

/Question/ What are the mainstays and what is the definition of this creative medical education?

/Answer/ It depends on two things:

1. It encourages the student to learn medicine, not teach it, and there is a difference between the word learning and the word teaching, as is illustrated through the addressing of the medical and health problems existing in the area. This method is a new, international one, and its application has been started in Canada, Australia and the Netherlands. This method depends on the principle of independent self-teaching and of growing accustomed to problem solving, instead of memorizing and remembering information. It also depends on preparing doctors within an integral medical team to cure environmental diseases and maintain social health by facing medical cases and health problems on location in the course of study and by trying to diagnose and treat these diseases from all angles. This method does not separate the branches and curriculums of medicine, as is done by the classical school of medical teaching.

2. It is what is called the medicine of society. In this kind of medicine comes the dimension of prevention, so that it can be completed after treatment.

Furthermore, through this medicine, we teach the student preventive hygiene to avoid epidemics, and it is distinctive from any method applied.

/Question/ And how about the things connected with the two other colleges?

/Answer/ They have been restructured. The College of Applied Sciences turns to programs of applied sciences to serve as the mainstays of higher studies and scientific research programs--to be something more than a college for graduating holders of bachelor of arts degrees in these specializations only.

The College of Education has also been restructured so that it will devote attention to specific specializations, which will be needed by the area, and so that it will care for the handicapped through the preparation of teachers and for the talented from among the excelling students in whom nobody has taken any interest and who have found no one to show an interest in their talent.

/Question/ Therefore, are we speaking of special education?

/Answer/ Yes, undoubtedly. We are also in dire need of preparing staff qualified for educational administration in order to prepare the cadres needed by the area in an integral manner.

#### Conceptions of Future University

The basic statutes of the Arabian Gulf University stipulate that it will be "an independent, regional educational authority with a general corporate personality, and the member countries will participate in its management, on the basis of complete equality among them, through their representatives in the General Congress and in the Council of Secretaries. The countries participating in the university are the seven Arab countries of the Gulf, to wit: the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the State of Kuwait, the State of Bahrain, the State of Qatar, the UAE, the Iraqi Republic and the Sultanate of Oman--and Bahrain, will be the seat of the university."

In response to an invitation by the university's constituent assembly, a seminar was organized on "The Future Conceptions of the Arabian Gulf University" to which 57 scientists, researchers and scholars contributed. The discussions held at the seminar led to the following trends and results:

1. A dire need exists for the Regional Arabian Gulf University, which must dedicate itself to high-quality research and to teaching in the cultural and scientific fields, as well as in the technological domains pertaining to the development of the area in accordance with short-term and long-term programs, provided that--through all its activities--this institution shall be inspired by original Islamic ideas and values.
2. The university should dedicate its preliminary momentum to the level of graduate theses and to the level of education, although the need might arise for the existence of some programs for the studies of the preliminary academic phase.
3. The areas which will initially need concentration include, among other things, the desert sciences; oceanography; development; education; scientific, technological and planning policies; vital technologies; energy; and science of information and the policy of communications; special education (for the handicapped, the retarded and the talented); and the space sciences.
4. The Arabian Gulf University should make a small beginning with a limited number of institutes for graduate theses and training, its administrative organ should be flexible and limited and the university's structure should crystallize along with the crystallization of the functions, the programs and their development.

5. The next pressing step should be the appointment of the director of the university and of his basic assistants so that afterward, priorities will be set and members of the teaching staff will be appointed worldwide.

#### Future Programs

/Question/ What are the most important programs of the university which you envisage for the future?

/Answer/ We are inclined toward selecting a set of scientific specializations needed by the area, the most important of which are:

1. The sciences of the desert and of barren lands.
2. Sciences relating to energy and to its alternatives--and we are more deserving than the West to prospect for these alternatives, since we are more dedicated than the Westerners.
3. Caring for the study of coastal pollution in particular, and of environmental pollution in general, in keeping abreast of programs and studies carried out in the area, on the grounds that our Gulf has oil-exporting harbors and is subject to pollution--which affects the lives of the residents and the coasts in particular.
4. At the university, we have ambitious programs for the study of space, and we also have programs for the Arab satellite.

The pictures which will be sent by the Arabsat satellite will have no stations to receive them. These pictures will be about natural subjects--about the Arab lands and the resources they hold in store, about demographic distribution, about demographic groups and about the types of soil in order to help us with agriculture. The satellite is capable of providing all this information. However, it is imperative that we, in our turn, provide ground stations to receive all the pictures and information transmitted by the satellite and to translate and draft these pictures and information into statements!

We reckon that these basics are necessary for the benefit, which we hope we will derive from the services of the satellite, to become complete. The Arabian Gulf University is now studying and trying to overcome this shortcoming in order to analyze pictures and extract accurate information about the Arab world.

5. Also in the area of space science, we have ambitious programs, and they will cost a great deal. However, we exercise care not to magnify them at the outset, and we will initiate these programs in a phased manner. We have indeed initiated these programs through the announcement on scholarships, which we have published in some papers of the Gulf, including those specializing in space science.

So far as the Arab communications satellite, Arabsat, is concerned, the Arabian Gulf University has invited Dr 'Ali al-Mushat, president of the institution

concerned with the satellite, to visit the university and to discuss with us the university's conception of the service which it has proposed for the objectives behind the launching of the satellite--and we are waiting for him.

#### New and Integrated Building

/Question/ When will the construction of the university's own building be completed?

/Answer/ In May 1984, the Amir of the State of Bahrain laid the cornerstone, and the university city will be handed over in May 1986. Bahrain has offered the land for the university, with an area of 4 million square meters in an excellent area. It has also offered a large area of land for marine research and oceanography on the coast. The State of Bahrain has also contributed the land for the Colleges of Medicine, west of "Al-Sulaymaniyah Medical Center--the largest center here, and we use it as a university hospital."

We have also met with the architect of the projected university city, Hisahm al-Shihabi, who is a Bahraini. We toured with him the building for the College of Medicine. He showed us the relief of the university city. Talking about the project, he said:

"The overall area is 4 million square km. The main building does not exceed 70,000 square meters. There are 33,000 square meters for the oceanography building, and the academic buildings are of a flexible design so that they can be converted according to our needs and according to study requirements.

"There are 230 laboratories for scientific research, and the project has been divided into two phases:

--Work will be completed on the first phase in 1986-1987 to begin the school year.

--The main buildings consist of the academic buildings, the libraries, the conference center, a food center, athletic halls, teachers residential quarters, the isotopes unit, the electronic computer unit, the zoology unit, the electronic microscope unit and the essential services for scientific studies. Each auditorium has a seating capacity of 160 male and female students. Laboratories have been equipped with the most modern facilities. There is also a small desalination plant to meet the requirements of the students in the laboratory."

With Dr al-Ansari

We met with Dr Muhammad Jabir al-Ansari, general director of cultural relations at the university. He talked about the university's objectives and about the most important points on which its specialized program concentrates. He said:

"Attention is focused on the environmental sciences, the computer revolution, new specializations, bringing forth technology in the area's environment, interest in the sciences of the desert and of barren lands, the sciences of the shores and oceanography and interest in the educational studies related to the area such as the art of teaching talented students and teaching the handicapped or special kinds of human beings.

"It is also focused on mapping out educational policies and guidance and educational orientation, which requires educational reform in the educational systems of the area in its entirety.

"We also concentrate on building and establishing schools. However, it is imperative that we lay down the educational plan, and laying the groundwork for schools will follow later--this is what the university is interested in.

"We take an interest in social medicine. Traditional colleges of medicine are interested in graduating specialized doctors, who would treat two complicated cases a month in the area of their specialization. Meanwhile, these colleges have neglected graduating integrated medical teams and doctors ready to go to the countryside and to the villages and to act as working doctors, so far as the majority of the people is concerned, but they have neglected specialists who are isolated in their specialized clinics.

"We revert to the concept of doctors working in society, not specialists who refuse to go to the patients or to the countryside and who covet senior posts.

"The first generation of graduates in the Gulf area was the generation of senior administrators, and this generation's slots are now filled. However the new generation of graduates will not find a large scope in the administrative ranks. Therefore, what will we do with this generation, and how will we accommodate it?

The new generation that we need is one of specialists in the various kinds of technology, and we now depend on foreigners in this respect. Therefore, the quality of the universities must change by way of the universities shifting from preparing administrative leaders, whom we needed in the past, to preparing technocrats and technicians from among the sons of the area, whom we still need urgently.

"Therefore, it is imperative that we change the quality of our trends.

"Hence, we are now on the eve of the birth of this important scientific edifice, and before the beginning of its surge toward contributing to the building of human life by means of honoring science and of caring for specializations important for the environment and its requirements and for the resources of our land."

In light of these "Conceptions for the Future," which have been forwarded, the recommendations have also focused attention on the following mainstays:

--The Arabian Gulf University is being born in the world of the 21st century, and it is inevitable that it will bear the fruits of the new gains of knowledge for the sake of man.

--Islam is compatible with evolution, and it also encourages accclimatization and adaptation and benefiting from modern technology. History shows that the state of cultural affairs and of the sciences was prosperous and advanced in Islam. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the Arabian Gulf University to assume a major role in serving Arabization.

--The recommendations stress the importance underlying programs of higher studies, of the existence of applied or field research and of cooperating in reducing distances among the countries of the world through science.

--The role which the Arabian Gulf University can possibly play in conveying technology and bringing it forth and, in computer services, the exchange of information and the development of research within the university.

--They turn toward education potential in keeping with the meaning of this recommendation "Learn how to learn."

#### Brief Overview

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 10 Mar 85 p 8

/Text/ A 30 percent ratio of the number of students, who are scheduled to be accepted in each specialization, is allotted for the sons of the member countries, which do not have such specializations in their local universities.

The remaining 70 percent ratio of the number slated to be accepted in each specialization is distributed equally among the member countries, including the countries for whose sons the aforesaid 30 percent had been allotted.

It is permissible for the university to accept no more than five percent of the number of students accepted per specialization from among the sons of the nonmember Arab countries, provided they meet the university's conditions of acceptance (Art 11 of the agreement establishing the university).

Study is not coeducational, as stipulated by the agreement on the establishment of the university. However, scientific and academic facilities will be equally and independently available for male and female students.

The teacher to student ratio is 1:10.

The average number of students per class is 25.

The average number of hours which a student must take per semester is 16.

The university has 2 semesters, and each semester consists of 15 weeks, with the exception of examinations and periods of registration.

The university's main academic sanctuary is situated in al-Sukhayr area in an intermediate location in Bahrain--at a distance of about 25 km from the capital, al-Manamah, and of 3 km from the western coast of Bahrain facing the Saudi coast. The university has been given a seafront, separate from the main premises, with an area of 3,600 square meters. This seafront will be exploited for future oceanography. However, the total area of the university's compound is 4 square km.

The university has adopted the principle of self-reliance in the area of preparing for its academic cadres. Since the outset of the project, the university

The university has adopted the principle of self-reliance in the area of preparing for its academic cadres. Since the outset of the project, the university mapped out an active policy of sending excelling students from among the sons of the area to prestigious international universities. Up to this time, the university has 51 scholarship students of medicine, applied sciences, education and the humanities. This number will reach 249 scholarship students under the 1985-87 plan for the new period.

The most important landmark, on which the university's plan has been established, is the decision which was made by the General Congress at its extraordinary meeting held in December 1983. This decision stipulates that the addition of the number of students accepted in the universities should tend toward increasing the ratio of students of higher studies and toward reducing the ratio that had been earlier allocated for the students of academic studies, in such a way that the ratio between both categories reaches 70 percent for higher studies and 30 percent for academic studies in the long term. This will confirm the university's distinctive quality as an institution of higher studies in the area.

It is expected that higher studies at the university will commence in the near future and that this beginning will constitute the university's third scientific achievement following implementation of the program of scholarships for higher studies in preparing the university's academic cadres and following the commencement of study in the new building of the College of Medicine and Medical Science near al-Sulaymaniyah Medical Center which, it has been decided in agreement with the State of Bahrain, will be the teaching and training hospital for the university's College of Medicine.

The 1984-85 academic year is considered the beginning of regular study and of university life in the Arabian Gulf University in its capacity as an independent and united scientific authority. At the beginning of the year, Dr Mahmud Muhammad Saar took up his post as the university's first president in accordance with the resolution passed by the General Congress of the ministers of education in the Arab Gulf countries convened in Bahrain on 1 May 1984. This was followed by the formation of 10 scientific and administrative units to insure the continuation of work at the university. Work also started on the preparation of executive bylaws and organizational structures.

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ISLAMIC AFFAIRS

'ABDALLAH NUSAYF SPEAKS ON ISLAMIC CONSCIOUSNESS

London AL-MUSLIMUN in Arabic 16-22 Mar 85 pp 4-5

/Interview with Dr 'Abdallah 'Umar Nusayf, secretary general of the Muslim World League, by al-Shaykh Babakir Darwish: "Islamic Consciousness is the Path to Resurrecting the Culture of Marshalling Religious Values and the Specifications of Worldly Existence, Disagreement Between Muslims is the Obvious Feature of Today's World"; date and place not specified

/Text Proclaiming the call of Islam and defending its concerns, thereby realizing Islamic interests and hopes, and solving the problems of Muslims and reuniting them, is one of the basic aims which the Muslim World League is seeking to accomplish. The man who undertakes to carry such a banner has to have these aims as his way of life and program of activities. Dr 'Abdallah 'Umar Nusayf, the missionary and secretary general of the Muslim World League, and the former president of the university, is equal to such a different task. He lives a life of intense cultural and moral obligation. His heart is one with the Lord, he loves people, is enlightened, openminded, committed in his ideas, and clear in everything.

/Question What are the most important aims upon which the activities of the League revolve?

/Answer The League serves Muslims in diverse cultural, social and educational fields, as well as in the maintenance of mosques and returning the message of the mosque to the reality of Muslim life.

This requires that all activities should be aimed in this direction, involving the distribution of Islamic books and magazines, printing the Holy Koran, interpreting the meanings of the Koran, instituting training workshops, awarding study grants, establishing Koranic centers and institutes, offering Islamic seminars and lectures during the pilgrimage season and at other seasons too, and encouraging Muslim missionaries all over the world to propagate Islam, backing them up materially and equipping them with the necessary capabilities that would aid them in fulfilling their duties.

God willing, and as much as possible, all this would lead in the end to improving the situation of Muslims and complying with their requests in these areas.

## New Members

/Question/ What were the distinguishing features of the League's conferences this year?

/Answer/ For the first time, the League's Constituent Assembly and the Supreme International Council for Mosques were held concurrently. This was an idea that some members preferred and others did not agree with, so it was decided that there should be at least 3 months between the two conferences. Fortunate results were the outcome of an informed debate and deliberations over a number of general and recurring Islamic issues, like the issues of Palestine, Afghanistan and the Muslim minorities everywhere.

/Question/ What do they represent?

/Answer/ They represent numerous specialities. This is what the Constituent Assembly and the Supreme International Council for Mosques are presently endowed with, where we find members who are thinkers, men of letters, theologians and scholars in general who are specialists in the various legal, traditional and contemporary sciences.

/Question/ And the council of the canon law academy?

/Answer/ It also contains new members, representing the various Muslim sects.

/Question/ Including doctors?

/Answer/ The doctors who participated in the recent session were present as observers. They contributed effectively to the discussion of those items that touch upon medical matters, like organ transplants, abortion, etc. The participation of five doctors was a good beginning, which God willing, will be repeated in all matters that require specialists to sustain the discussion and direct it to the sound course that will aid theologians to deliver legal opinions and take appropriate decisions.

## Developing League Branches

/Question/ As far as your activities abroad are concerned, are they regarded in this same measure? And are there any intentions to establish new branches?

/Answer/ Our activities at home and abroad are an integrated operation, and we have numerous requests for the establishment of branches. There are even agreements with many governments and requests for speeding up the opening of branches, but we want to wait a little so that the necessary balances will be maintained. Moreover, the development of existing branches takes precedence over opening new ones which might be subject to budget deficits and insufficient capabilities, and this is the reason for the delay.

/Question/ Observers have noted that the League's journalistic publications have reached a high standard that enables them to compete with their counterparts, why then do we not see them in the shops?

/Answer/ God be praised, the League's magazines and newspapers are developing continually, and God willing, they will develop for the better. There is an intention to contact some newspaper marketing companies to market these newspapers and distribute them everywhere, and God permitting, this will take place soon.

/Question/ Today we speak of the age of Islamic consciousness, has there been a change in the way Muslims look at themselves?

/Answer/ The Islamic consciousness which the world is witnessing today is characterized by Muslims actually beginning to re-examine their lives, behavior and society, and in one way or another, Islam has to be taken as a program for life. This indicates that there has been a change in the way Muslims look at themselves.

But they did not rush to benefit from this consciousness by changing the real situation of Muslims, many of them having exploited this consciousness for intellectual and cultural pleasure, publishing, the distribution of the Koran and so forth.

What we want are work programs that will change the situation of Muslims and rescue them from the economic, social and cultural backwardness which they are experiencing, and revive the hope in their souls that God Almighty will once more enable them to be a distinguished Islamic civilization linking religious values and the attributes of this world and thereby becoming the ideal replacement for the prevailing civilization which is tearing the life of the human being apart, and which places the material side before the spiritual one, and there is confirmation of that in the saying of the Almighty: "We have also made you a nation of mediators, that you may be witnesses over people and the Prophet may be a witness over you," for God Almighty is truthful.

/Question/ What is your philosophy regarding Islamic education, and how are you backing it up?

/Answer/ Islamic education is the basic introduction for regaining the effectiveness of our cultural presence, and for carrying the message of Islam.

From the numerous conferences and meetings that took place about Islamic education, it has become evident that Muslims urgently need to lay firm foundations for education that originates from Islamic percepts, and that fulfills the requirements of Islamic societies by developing and improving them, in addition to advancing Muslims, returning their self-confidence and enabling them to march in the procession of culture, in preparation for climbing its summits.

The importance of all this, and the necessity of speeding up its implementation, became evident to people.

But undoubtedly, the difficulty of implementation is a big stumbling block, and people are disappointed when they see that western or secular educational systems have gained control, influence and roots in the minds of some.

This difficulty in implementation requires more persistence, effort, loyalty and culture, and every human being has to make a rational effort in this regard, not leaving the matter for ministries of education, universities, institutes and governmental organizations.

#### Funding Islamic Chair

/Question/ On a previous occasion, your reference to the management of departments of Islamic studies in Western universities by Jewish professors made an effective impression on everyone, have Muslims taken any steps?

/Answer/ Western universities are demanding the opening of centers for Islamic studies, and support for existing centers by the provision of professors. As I mentioned earlier, those universities are ready to have Muslim professors, and Islamic circles are discussing proposed programs and selected books within the framework of the systems and laws of the relevant universities.

#### A Program for Missionary Work

/Question/ Does the Muslim missionary in the West need to be knowledgeable about Christianity?

/Answer/ One of the basic concerns of the missionary who is working in Western countries is that he should be knowledgeable about the various Christian religions, and aware of the customs, behavior and culture of those societies, which are mostly secular societies, even though they might formally profess the Christian religion.

/Question/ On the one hand, the secretary general of the Muslim World League declares his acceptance of the principle of Islamic-Christian debate, and on the other, the League's press is publishing the opinions of opposers and supporters of this debate; what is your comment?

/Answer/ The League has begun its contacts with the leaders of the main churches in the West to establish relations; meetings and, if you like, a debate which aim to serve Muslims, and to benefit from available possibilities in the West to clarify the Islamic point of view to question for example can be aided greatly in this regard in America and the West generally.

When the official who is responsible for editing the League's newspapers asked me whether it would be possible to publish opposing points of view, I found it very appropriate that various points of view should be presented, as this enriches the debate, increases the data and gives every human being the opportunity to express his opinion. I think that this is a very important and healthy phenomenon which benefits the human being. That does not prevent the debate from beginning and from continuing because there is no contradiction, as we do not intend to sell our religion for the religion of others, but want to carry out some of the duties that are required of us. Muslims are required to spread Islam into non-Muslim circles, calling them to the true and just path, and to benefit from all that is available to achieve this.

/Question/ What would you put first, the promotion of the Arabic language, or translations of the meanings of the Koran?

/Answer/ One would find it difficult to establish priorities, as the promotion of the Arabic language is a service to the Koran and a propagation of Islam. In some societies, it is extremely important to begin by establishing Arabic language schools and promoting it before sending translations of the meanings of the Koran, while in others, the opposite is appropriate.

We thus schedule our work so as to perform both duties with some flexibility in expediting or delaying, according to the requirements of the intended society.

/Question/ The secretary general of the Muslim World League is a former university professor, has he given up teaching?

/Answer/ God be praised, I still teach from 1 to 2 hours per week at King 'Abd al-'Aziz University.

/Question/ Dr Nusayf the geologist, does he keep a rock collection in his home?

/Answer/ I did have rocks which the children played with and scattered about.

/Question/ Will you collect others?

/Answer/ In the light of scientific progress, the availability of colored photographs, slides and so forth, one need not collect rocks, but I wish to have a museum in the near future.

/Question/ Which is dearer to your heart, 17 Jumada al-Awala or 5 July over every year? And do you call yourself to account on the threshold of every birthday of your life?

/Answer/ Seventeen Jumada al-Awala because it is an Islamic date. In comparison with the Gregorian calendar, it also adds 1 year to one's age every 30 years. Thus one feels and anticipates one's end, calls himself to account before he is called to account, attempts to steer clear of sins and mistakes, and seeks after good deeds.

Every night before going to bed, every man ought to call himself to account and examine his deeds to see if their bad or good aspect predominated, and to rectify this the next day. This ought to be the practice of every human being.

/Question/ What is the League's role in reconciling and coordinating between the various Islamic sects and organizations?

/Answer/ The League basically aims to create a firm relationship and strengthen the bonds of cooperation and understanding between the various Islamic organizations, as this approach is the one which enables the League to achieve its goals and offer aid to Muslims everywhere through these societies and organizations.

A practical difficulty exists however, because the obvious feature of Muslims nowadays is their disagreement and conflict over the most trivial of reasons.

That is why the matter requires expending more efforts and funds, and the continuation and perseverance in contacting and visiting them, until whatever psychological stumbling blocks that are barring the way to understanding and cooperation cease to exist.

/Question/ The Gulf war, who is going to put it out?

/Answer/ No one can put out the Gulf war except those that are being burnt by its fire by which I mean Iraq and Iran, and with good will and determination, they could end it in seconds.

But to our extreme sorrow, we find the enemies of Islam dissembling to each side that the matter shall end to his, and not the other's, advantage, and that the war is about to end.

The brothers have to be aware that if a conflict between two sides drags on, then this means that both sides are wrongful.

In the past, governmental and popular societies and organizations have mediated without results. The solution therefore is in their hands, Iraq's and Iran's that is.

#### Famine and Relief

/Question/ It is said that famine in some Muslims countries has made Muslims aware of the necessity of relief planning and food aid. Do you have any special views on this topic?

/Answer/ The work in the area of relief distribution to famine victims in Africa was a great opportunity for Muslims to improve their mastery of relief operations and helping Muslim victims, and non-Muslim victims too as this is a great service to humanity.

It was noticed however that numerous agencies were at work, and that coordination between them was a necessity. This is what the League did, and--the Lord be praised--when a team went to Somalia and another to the Sudan, the first thing it did was to get in touch with the societies that were operating there from the Gulf States, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan itself and others to establish contact and discover what has been accomplished, so that services would not be duplicated in one place and neglected in others.

That is why the League directed itself to places that were ignored by other organizations, affording them the opportunity to work in the west of Sudan and directing itself to the east and south in al-Raffak city.

/Question/ What about the collection of supplies and funds, would not that in itself require organizing?

/Answer/ In fact the response of Muslims to the appeal was great and they rushed to contribute, but it is necessary to establish organizations like those existing in the West to perform charity work all year round, and to invest funds in affected countries to treat famines at the roots and before they occur. If they were to occur, then they should be wiped out completely, and solutions should not be temporary.

This requires deliberations to develop the relief apparatus at the League in order to become a more effective and positive apparatus, and Muslims might think of another way.

Nusafy the Boy Scout

/Question/ One year from now, Dr 'Abdallah 'Umar Nusafy will have completed 30 years in the boy scout organization. Do the boy scouts deserve all this affiliation and loyalty?

/Answer/ I think that if a person were to join the boy scouts, then there would be no end to his participation, which actually ends when he dies. This is what I observe at the international scout conferences and meetings, as most of their participants are old, some being 80 years old, having spent more than 55 or 60 years in the boy scout movement. I also find all professions and specializations represented, as one finds the lawyer, the doctor, junior and senior ministers, and military and civilian officials at these meetings.

Perhaps some people will be wondering, because the scout movement in their opinion is nothing more than a distinctive uniform, street marches, or the participation in celebrations. They do not look at it as a pioneering educational movement which has continued throughout the years to shape the positive youth of every society. Even in those disintegrating societies that have been infiltrated by moral problems, one finds that as much as possible, the scouts are alone in observing morals, and in the shaping of serious youth, committed to morality and the service of others.

/Question/ But some of the scout designations and movements might not be acceptable to some Muslims, would it be possible to change them?

/Answer/ There is nothing permanent so long as it is made and designated by man. Change is not only possible, but a duty. When, more than 10 years ago, I presented two dissertations to gain the wooden badge, I based all scout principles and laws on the Koran and the Sunnah, and I found their origins to be truly Islamic. What Baden Powell and others have contributed concerns modern times only, while Muslims have been concerned with the discipline, support, training, care and assuring seriousness of purpose in the behavior of youth.

Wonderful Examples

/Question/ A mosque or Islamic center which gained your approval and satisfied you?

/Answer/ I do not now have a particular mosque or center, and I have seen many centers where the effort is clear, and the unity of the word is apparent. The cooperation of Muslims in them is bearing much fruit.

If one had to name them, then I would mention the Islamic Center in London among them. In Malaysia the work is clear and the word is united, and we find good examples of these Islamic societies and centers in other countries.

/Question/ Would it be possible for you to name an actual Islamic personality in the field of missionary work whom you would wish to see everywhere?

/Answer/ No doubt there are young and old men who are distinguished for their work, sacrifice and loyalty. I do not want to name an actual person, but in all events, he is the kind of person who is duty bound in his behavior and conduct, sacrificing his time and efforts for the sake of the Lord, but not desiring praise or commendation from that, nor intending his work to be for show.

As long as he is loyal to glorious and exalted God, then God Almighty will defend him. In truth there are personalities that are worthy of appreciation, and I pray that God will increase their like in many countries.

12775

CSO: 4404/270



ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

EDITORIAL COMMENTS ON KIDNAPPING OF DASHNAK LEADER IN BEIRUT

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 31 Mar 85 p 1

[Editorial: "No Means of Force Can Halt Our Advance:(On the Abduction of Sarkis Zeytlia)"]

[Text] A blow intended to crush any national liberation movement is dealt first and foremost against the organization which is considered the core of the target movement.

And it is precisely for this reason that the enemies of the Armenian people have targeted the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, which constitutes the heartbeat of the Armenian national liberation struggle.

Yesterday Dashnak Abraham Ashjian was abducted....

Today it was Sarkis Zeytlia, a prominent leader of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation....

This vile act reflects the political struggle being carried out by the Dashnak group, a struggle which is having certain positive results as regards making the Armenian Cause an international issue.

The principal enemy of the Armenian people, as the Armenians see it, is once again resorting to insidious and inhuman means and is once again revealing his true nature, true to his traditional mode of action, in response to a new upsurge and steadily growing efforts by the Armenian people to obtain its rights.

Today's direct successor to a government which for many centuries used sword, plunder, destruction and bloodshed to accomplish its aims, is unable to find another mode of actions to resolve the problem.

Such means implemented by the fascist government of Turkey, with the sole aim of crushing every word and every movement of justice, are neither unknown nor unexpected to the Armenian people. This, however, does not fully circumscribe the pattern of that government's activities directed against the Armenian people. Following in the footsteps of its predecessors, it resorts to violent

means on an international level to support the forces which patronize its actions.

These forces, proceeding from their own interests, are always ready and willing to help -- both the imperialist West and expansionist East, ignoring and trampling the rights of the deprived, the oppressed, and entire peoples.

It was only yesterday that Soviet Premier Tikhonov received a warm welcome in Ankara, while today Turkey's prime minister is visiting the United States of America.

According to the European press and international news agencies, questions pertaining to the Armenians are on the agenda of the talks between Turkey and the two superpowers.

Subsequently Turkey's policies have been receiving confirmation by a number of flunky governments. A few days ago the Government of Israel, which is hitched to the U.S. cart and which has trampled the rights of the Palestinian people, issued a special statement through its Istanbul Consulate, changing its position vis-a-vis the Armenians, taking sides with Turkey.

Thus Turkey, by means of collaboration between imperialism and Zionism, has unleashed a vile campaign to bury the Armenian Cause -- to achieve today what it failed to achieve yesterday. And on that road "the blood of an Armenian can also flow," announced Turkish Government spokesman Yilmaz.

Thus the deed committed against Sarkis Zeytlian is not the first, nor will it be the last because, according to Zeytlian, "...the Dashnaks made a choice and founded an independent revolutionary movement, with its own theory," and a party which has taken such a course, as in the past in its general activities, will become a target of many insidious attacks.

The Armenians, who lost one and a half million souls at the hands of that same Turkish Government, will not yield to the threats directed against them, for the Armenian people has long ago marked out the bloody and thorny road of its struggle for independence; and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation stands in the front ranks of that struggle today, just as yesterday, with the uncompromising sacrifice of its children's blood.

No kidnapping, no violent means, no force will succeed in crushing the advance of the Armenian liberation movement or bring to a halt the work being done in connection with the Armenian Cause, since its children, ignoring all difficulties and obstacles, are walking along the sanctified road of their indestructible ideals.

8817

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

GREEK MEDIA COMMENTS ON 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF 'ARMENIAN GENOCIDE'

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 31 Mar 85 pp 2, 7

[Text] The Greek press of 6 March has been referring to the friendly and enlightening meeting called by the Committee for the Armenian Cause of the ARF in Greece to which had been invited correspondents of the Greek press and of international news agencies. Here are some points in brief:

TO VIMA: "70 years have passed since 1915, that sinister date for the Armenians when the Turks carried out a major genocide against the Armenian people. Armenians the world over will not forget it and their speeches this year will highlight the event during the month of April.

During the meeting with the journalists, the representative of the Committee for the Armenian Cause in Greece announced their intention to hold several events during the year 'in order to celebrate with appropriate dignity the 70th anniversary of the tragic date'. The first event, scheduled for 31 March, will be artistic in nature and will be organized by the Youth Association."

ETHNOS: "Under the title 'Seventy Years After The Genocide', the paper quotes the explanation given by Mr Sh Faradjian, representative of the Committee for the Armenian Cause in his opening address, as well as the explanatory text on the Armenian Cause handed to the journalists. The paper gives a brief historical summary of the 'incredible and dreadful tragedy of the Genocide that shocked the world'. It states in a few words the significance of the 70th anniversary from the point of view of the Committee by quoting from the information booklet prepared by it and given to the journalists. It also explains why the Armenians are striving for the recognition and condemnation of the Genocide in order to bring about the restitution of the lands forcibly occupied by Turkey."

TA NEA: "The paper mentions the meeting organized by the Committee for the Armenian Cause in an Athens hotel, as well as the meeting held by the Youth Association at the end of March."

ELEVTHEROS TYPOS: "Under large headlines 'NEVER FORGET THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE' and sub-titles 'Seventy Years After The Massacres, Turkey Proclaims Ignorance About its Act' and 'A Heavy Load Weighing on the

Conscience of Mankind', the paper publishes a photograph of the impressive demonstration staged by the Armenians in front of the Turkish Embassy in Athens demanding their lands. The paper then states that it is the 70th anniversary of those horrible massacres perpetrated by the Turks on the Armenians, constituting the first Genocide of the 20th century. The correspondent quotes from the information booklet given out by the Committee."

I Vradyni: "The paper states that the Committee for the Armenian Cause the ARF Youth Organization of Greece and the National Cultural Association are planning to hold public meetings on the occasion of the 70th anniversary. The correspondent then refers to the meeting of the journalists with the Committee and quotes from the booklet. The paper's article carries the title 'Armenians honor the victims of the 1915 Genocide' and publishes a photograph of the representative of the Committee for the Armenian Cause."

APOGEVMATINI: "Under the headlines 'Armenians Hold Meetings Regarding the Genocide', it writes about this year's 70th anniversary, the encounter arranged between the Press and the Committee and the meetings to be held in Greece, Europe and the entire United States."

ESTIA: "The paper carries the headline 'Armenians are pursuing their national struggle' and reports the meeting with the Committee as well as the struggle' the Diaspora Armenians have started to wage for the recognition of their Cause and their just demands. The paper also mentions the meetings scheduled to take place during the course of the year."

MESIMVRINI: "Writes about the meeting between the Committee for the Armenian Cause and the journalists during which there was mention of the meeting on the 70th anniversary of the Genocide and of the meetings to be held in the course of the year."

AVRIANI: "Under the heading 'Armenian Meetings', the paper writes that a series of meetings will take place during the entire year to mark the 70th anniversary of the Genocide perpetrated against the Armenians in 1915."

12364

CSO: 4605/146

5 June 1985

## ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

## ARMENIANS PAY TRIBUTE TO MARTYRS OF 1915

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 25 Apr 85 p 2

[Text]

TEHRAN (IRNA)— A ceremony was held at the Holy Sirkis Armenian Church in Tehran yesterday in the presence of Ardak Manokian in memory of 1.5 million Armenians massacred on April 24, 1915 by the then Turkish government.

Each of the participants in the ceremony held out seven flowers in hand, indicating the 70th anniversary of the massacre and laid them at the memorial statue of the Armenian martyrs.

Archbishop Manokian delivered a speech at the church in memory of the day.

Representative of Armenians of South Iran in the Majlis, Otavas Baghumiyan said that the Armenian soldiers were fighting with heroic determination alongside their Moslem brethren at the battlefronts of the Iraqi imposed war.

Speaking at the open session of the Majlis presided over by Speaker Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, Baghumiyan rejected propaganda of global oppression aimed at sowing discord among the masses of Iranian nation saying that such misinformation did not speak for religious minorities in the Islamic Republic.

Recently, he added, the US Secretary of State George Shultz talked about the si-

tuation of religious minorities in Iran, overlooking the fact that he is secretary of state of a country which is in total unity with international Zionism and the Zionist regime in trampling upon the rights of the people in the occupied Palestine and the oppressed people in Lebanon.

The Armenian deputy also spoke on the silence of the United Nations against the Iraqi regime's crimes saying that the organization refrains from clearly and decisively condemning Iraq for attacking Iran, deploying chemical weapons, bombardment of cities and in massacring Iranian civilians.

He also made a reference to the anniversary of the mass killing of Armenians in Turkey (April 24, 1915) saying that today the world community of Armenians dignify the memory of the Armenians killed by the Young Turks which incident he described as the earliest instance of racial killing in contemporary history.

He also related an account of the tragedy adding that "all blood-stained accounts of man's history is evidence that any time a nation rises up to cut off the hands of the tyrants in the arena of struggle, then the world oppressors align themselves into a group of malicious allies to suppress them."

EGYPT

# EDITORIAL FINDS REASONS FOR OPTIMISM ON COUNTRY'S FUTURE

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 29 Apr 85 pp 1, 3

[Editorial by Ibrahim Nafi': "It Is Not Absolutely Rosy"]

[Text] We continue our talk of future horizons whose signs seem lighted with hope, despite the difficulties and hardships. Some may ask me: "Are you optimistic regarding the future despite the problems, the difficulties and the shortages of materials?" My immediate answer is yes, and I have my reasons:

First, Egypt is moving seriously on the path of development and is building according to a well-studied plan by which all the state agencies abide, for which all the resources are secured and from which nobody agrees to swerve or stray for political considerations or in quest of popularity at the expense of the public interest. The plan implementation rates say that we are proceeding on the path with firm steps.

Seriousness and freedom from superficiality are the two qualities characterizing the approach toward the difficult problems. Therefore, the plan tackles the chronic problems with enormous projects that deal with the causes and that do not rely on sedatives, patchwork or temporary repairs. For example, the work to repair the communications network and to build roads, bridges and the metro tunnel continues.

The state is pursuing seriously the policy of reducing government spending and of securing all the financial resources needed for production and investment projects. Instead of increasing its spending in the current budget by 10 percent, as had been expected, the government has reduced this spending by 10 percent.

The state puts the objective of increased production above all other objectives and employs all available resources for this objective. In the First 5-year Plan, the state allocated 3.4 billion pounds for the public sector's renewal and replacement operations in order to increase this sector's production and to free it of the technical obstacles hampering its march.

These are some of my reasons for looking for a better tomorrow for Egypt if the efforts continue with the same sincerity and seriousness until the end of the First 5-year Plan and if they extend to the implementation of the Second Plan

with the same rates and same degree of enthusiasm. I expect the efforts and the giving to continue because the only alternative is economic backwardness and social and economic hardships and problems.

In addition to these broad lines, I am aware of some encouraging tendencies which I support without reservation and which I demand be bolstered and expanded. These tendencies include, for example:

Channeling all the new investment projects presented by investors toward the new cities in order to create urban and industrial societies in new areas that absorb the population density which is confined to the narrow valley.

For example, nearly 357 industrial and investment projects, with total investments of more than 2 billion pounds, have been set up in 10 Ramadan City. They are all successful projects and they are bringing development and growth to a new part of our country. In addition to this city, other projects have been channeled toward al-Sadat City and 6 October City. There is a continuing tendency to channel such projects toward the new areas which have all the utilities and services, including electricity, sanitary sewerage, water, housing, schools and public transportation.

A plan has actually been implemented as of the beginning of the current fiscal year to build six new quarters or satellite towns for Greater Cairo, which is the city with the highest population density in Egypt. These satellite townships extend southward to al-Basatin area so that their roads may not intersect with the beltway encircling Greater Cairo. The current tendency is to move the largest number possible of small and medium-size industries and small workshops out of Greater Cairo to the new satellite townships, provided that industrial societies and residential communities capable of absorbing the growing population are set up in these townships. In addition to these satellite townships, the plan to set up new cities continues. The latest such city is al-'Amiriyah al-Jadidah, located west of al-Nubariyah, which is still under construction.

The tendency to encourage both the public and private sectors to purchase and reclaim new lands in order to add to the cultivated area and to extend construction to new lands that cannot be reclaimed: in the past few weeks, the state offered 218,000 feddans in the Delta and Upper Egypt for purchase and reclamation. Of this acreage, only 30 percent is allotted for associations and organizations and 30 percent for the private sector and individuals. On the other hand, all the irreclamable desert lands will be offered for sale for whoever wishes to set up industrial or construction projects on them at nominal prices not exceeding 50 pounds per feddan, provided that the investors undertake to build the utilities for these lands. We thus encourage the investment, industrial and construction projects and add to Egypt's map new spots that are bright with construction, growth and abundance.

After the blunders, we are now pursuing stable and firm policies that permit no upheavals. The current tendency is to have the important economic decisions

studied by the ruling party's specialized committee, by the Presidential Advisory Committee and by the economic group of the cabinet so that the decision may be the outcome of studies that guarantee the constancy and continuity of the economic policies.

The policy of encouraging investment in Egypt represents one of the main lines of the state's general economic policy. Devoting all the capabilities to open the doors of investment and to eliminate the obstacles facing investment is the primary objective of the government's economic effort.

The truth is that the investment rates before last January's decrees were, along with the fundamental improvement in the condition of the utilities, especially of the telephone services which were one of the most significant problems facing investors, very encouraging. The state has embraced seriously and with strenuous effort the plan to renew the telephone network and now the standard of telephone service in Egypt is not at all lower than the standard of this service in Europe and the United States. The internal and international communications problems which the investors faced in Egypt in the past have now disappeared and more than 620,000 telephone lines have been added in the past 18 months. Our country is on its way toward making the telephone service available everywhere and toward meeting the demand for telephone lines in a very short time. The evident improvement experienced by the telephone service has also been experienced by the Egyptian road network. The plan to asphalt, renew and increase the roads moves on with utter enthusiasm. Moreover, nearly all of the country's railroad network has been renewed.

Egypt's growth rates, ranging from 7.5-8.0 percent, are good rates and prove that Egypt is a good investment sphere. Even though these rates have declined slightly in the past 3 months as a result of the January decrees, the possibilities of their increasing have become certain in the wake of the latest corrective decrees, of the tendency to pursue firm and stable long-range policies and of the tendency to offer the projects needed by the plan to the private sector to participate in building these projects. Even though the investments in the first 2 years of the plan have amounted to only 2.4 billion pounds instead of the targeted 3.4 billion pounds, it is greatly hoped, now that the conditions have stabilized and now that the proper investment climate has been created, that the investment volume will rise to these rates in the remaining years of the plan.

Investment is not just an economic necessity. It is also a social necessity, with the same degree of importance, for a people who number 48 million, who grow by nearly 1.3 million persons each year and who need new work opportunities, food projects, utilities and services.

Do I attempt to say through all this that the picture is "rosy" and that everything is just fine?

Absolutely not.



But I do want to say that we have the mainstays for building and that we have to redouble our efforts to overcome the difficulties and to move toward a society with less suffering and more reassurance.

We know that there are major obstacles, including the fact that we import \$9 billion worth in food, consumer goods, production requirements, equipment, machinery and spare parts and the fact that Egypt has to pay each year the debt and interest installments for loans which must be paid, especially since Egypt has gained the trust of the world's financial circles with its regular repayment of its loans. We also know that Egypt's foreign currency revenues amount to no more than \$7.5 billion a year and that these revenues come from three main sources:

The state's revenues from oil sales, the Suez Canal, the Sumed Pipeline and cotton and rice sales.

The revenues of the public sector banks from the remittances of Egyptians working abroad and from the yields of the public sector's exports of other crops, the expenditures of the foreign missions present in Egypt and the revenues of the sales of real estate to foreigners.

The revenues of the joint and private banks and of individuals from the remittances of Egyptians working abroad and from the private sector's exports.

This means that the demand for foreign currency is bigger than the supply available, thus causing the price of foreign currencies in Egypt to rise. This has consequently led to the rise of the prices of some commodities at home due to the rise in production costs.

But this does not mean accepting the continuance of this gap between the foreign currency supply and demand in Egypt. Here comes the state's role in rationalizing the demand for currencies and the role of the individuals themselves in rationalizing their demand for foreign currencies by taking into consideration the potential for what they import. The responsibility for rationalizing imports is not just a government responsibility. It is also a general responsibility shared by the people and the government. It is in the public interest for the importers to reduce the importation of nonessential goods, even if their unlimited importation is permitted.

The responsibility for bolstering the country's foreign currency resources is not the responsibility of the government alone. It is also a popular responsibility. The bigger the national production of exportable goods and raw materials grows, the greater becomes Egypt's ability to obtain new sources of foreign currencies.

The responsibility is common and the destiny is the same. The effort, sweat and blood of all are needed to achieve a tomorrow that promises to solve the problems, to alleviate the suffering and to serve Egypt and future generations.

EGYPT

AL-AHRAM DISCUSSES SHULTZ MIDEAST TOUR

PM111322 Cairo AL-AHRAM International Edition in Arabic 10 May 85 p 1

[Hamdi Fu'ad report from Washington: "Washington Expected to Agree to begin Dialogue with Jordanian-Palestinian Delegation; Shultz to Begin his Tour Today to Hold Important Talks in Egypt, Jordan, and Israel"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz today will begin his tour of the Middle East during which he will visit Egypt, Jordan, and Israel, where he will hold important talks with officials of the three countries on the question of the peace process in the Middle East.

In Cairo Foreign Minister 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid met with Egyptian Ambassador to Washington 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Ridi as part of the preparations for Shultz' visit to Egypt on Sunday, which will last several hours.

AL-AHRAM'S correspondent in Washington has learned that George Shultz will inform President Husni Mubarak and King Husayn of Jordan of his country's agreement to begin dialogue with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. It is likely that George Shultz or his assistant Richard Murphy will meet during his tour or later with his delegation on condition that the Palestinians participating in the delegation are not PLO members although they may be PNC members.

Official U.S. sources said that President Reagan's government is moving in this direction with great caution and is trying to leave the responsibility of selecting the delegation to the Arab side. It is expected that the selection of the delegation and the announcement in this respect will take place during Shultz' visit to the area.

U.S. circles believe that the PLO Executive Committee meeting which took place in Baghdad ended with 6 to 5 majority vote in favor of Palestinian non-PLO members taking part in the talks. But in view of the closeness of the vote the Palestinian side will not try to reveal the list of the names of Palestinians it has prepared for fear of a rift inside the PLO.

AL-AHRAM'S correspondent has learned that if progress is achieved in the talks Shultz will hold in Cairo, al-'Aqabah and Tel Aviv Murphy will remain in the area until arrangements are made for a meeting between a U.S. delegation and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

Al-AHRAM'S correspondent has also learned that despite the assurances that the Arab side has not specified the names of the Palestinian personalities and no list has been prepared and the U.S. side has not received such a list, it is believed that a list has actually been prepared and distributed.

It has been learned that the U.S. side has based its stand on the following:

1. That U.S. officials have been and still are in contact with Palestinian personalities, including those who are PNC members. They regard the PNC members as independent and not part of the PLO. The United States believes that the PNC includes hundreds of Palestinians, including some who hold U.S. citizenship.
2. The United States declined to indicate the progress made so far in preparing a list of the proposed members of the Palestinian side although I can assert that specific names have been the subject of discussion.
3. The question of forming a delegation and the U.S. side meeting with it is one of the topics now being discussed. The U.S. Administration believes that it is not in the public interest to conduct these talks and contacts publicly.

On the other hand, well-informed U.S. sources said that Egypt will discuss with George Shultz several issues concerning the Middle East, including the Palestinian problem, Egyptian-U.S. relations, and the future of peace in the area.

Egypt will once again demand an increase in the economic aid it obtains from the United States in the 1986 budget from \$815 million to 1.2 billion as well as an increase in military aid from \$1.3 billion to \$1.7 billion so that the total cooperation between the two countries in the economic and the military field will reach \$2.9 billion.

This is in addition to Egypt's demand for freedom in disposing of the additional \$500 million economic aid it obtained from the United States this year.

CSO: 4500/115

EGYPT

EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL ON SHULTZ' VISIT

GF131502 Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 12 May 85 p 1

[Nabil Ghazawi dispatch]

[Text] Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid told AL-SIYASAH that the Egyptian leadership is convinced that the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement signed on 11 February represents the main basis for any political move aimed at achieving a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

In a telephone conversation with AL-SIYASAH as part of a series of interviews with concerned Arab leaderships who will hold direct discussions with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and which AL-SIYASAH began yesterday with Jordanian Foreign Minister Tahir al-Masri, Dr 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid said that the visit of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz to Cairo and Amman [yesterday] is to complete the steps undertaken since the signing of the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement.

Answering a question on the ideas or the initiative presented by President Husni Mubarak--after the Jordanian agreement--and which call for U.S.-Israeli-Jordanian-Palestinian dialogue, Dr 'Abd al-Majid said that the goal of these Egyptian ideas is to push the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement, giving it momentum so that it will not become a forgotten document.

The Jordanian-Palestinian-U.S. dialogue is the beginning of a move to preserve the momentum of the Amman agreement.

Dr 'Abd al-Majid added that Egypt also understands the current difficulties but this will force all to seriously and sincerely continue efforts in this regard and that is the stand of fraternal Jordan and the brothers in the PLO.

Concerning the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation and the argument about its formation, the Egyptian foreign minister said that the conviction of his country is based on the right of the organization to choose the representatives of the Palestinian people to the joint delegation. They are the only one who have the right to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people and Egypt will support every move in this regard during the visit of the U.S. secretary of state.

In conclusion, Dr 'Abd al-Majid said that U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz will hold meetings with the president of the republic [Husni Mubarak], the Egyptian prime minister, and the Egyptian foreign minister on the peace movement in the region and the current situation in Lebanon in addition to Egyptian-U.S. relations which Dr 'Abd al-Majid described as characterized by affection and understanding.

CSO: 4500/115

EGYPT

#### CAIRO PAPERS COMMENT ON SHULTZ TOUR

NC140753 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2240 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Cairo, 13 May (MENA)--The Tuesday editions of the Cairo newspapers comment on U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz' tour of the region, which ended today, in light of the positions adopted by the parties concerned with the Palestinian issue and the moves these parties are expected to make.

In its commentary, AL-AHRAM notes the statement made by PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat during his recent visit to Beijing. He said that the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement represents the last chance to achieve a peaceful solution to the Middle East problem and that it is time the United States made a move regarding the Palestinian issue.

AL-AHRAM says that no one can possibly ask the Palestinians to compromise their legitimate right to establish their own state on Palestinian territory and to become part of a confederation with Jordan.

AL-AHRAM points out that the subjection of the PLO to an unfair campaign by some Arab regimes, simply because the PLO and Jordan presented a joint initiative, has prompted an Israeli refusal to demonstrate sufficient flexibility in responding to legitimate Palestinian demands. The paper also notes that even after the Shultz tour U.S. sources continue to point out that 4 or 5 more months will be needed before the required progress can be achieved on these issues.

Commenting on the same subject, AL-AKHBAR says that despite the fact that details of the talks which Schultz held during his tour have not yet been officially announced, there are indications that Israel has raised obstacles and hurdles preventing the Shultz tour from achieving the desired results.

The paper calls on the United States to push Israel toward demonstrating more flexibility in solving the Palestinian issue. It says that with little effort the United States can make Israel respond to a historic opportunity, which may not be repeated, to achieve peace in the Middle East.

AL-AKHBAR concludes its commentary by affirming that peace in the Middle East requires good intentions from all parties concerned, as well as a more effective U.S. role. We are still waiting for the United States to play this role.

AL-JUMHURIYAH believes that after the Shultz tour the United States should now define the next step to be taken. The ball is in the U.S.-Israeli court. The paper expresses hope that the United States will take a courageous positive step and show its readiness to hold a dialogue with the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Now is an opportune time, the paper emphasizes, for a serious U.S. initiative through which the United States will announce its recognition of the PLO, especially in the wake of the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement. The paper notes that such a step will mark the beginning of a rectification of the series of mistakes which the United States has made in the region.

AL-JUMHURIYAH concludes its commentary by warning against a U.S. failure to take this step as soon as possible. The consequences of such a failure will be completely opposite to the path of peace which all parties have expressed a desire to follow.

CSO: 4500/115

5 June 1985

EGYPT

## AL-QADHDHAFI'S RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT QUESTIONED

NC122030 Cairo Voice of the Arabs in Arabic 1815 GMT 12 May 85

[Station commentary]

[Text] Undoubtedly, there is a great deal of difference between words and deeds and between a slogan and its practical implementation. At times, this difference reaches the stage of complete contradiction. We, as well as the entire Arab nation, can see this in the behavior and conduct of Libya's ruler. Al-Gadhdhafi has claimed to be the custodian of Arab nationalism. However, events have proven that his claim is a mere allegation made for the purposes of barter and the pursuit of his personal dreams. He has claimed to be an Islamic zealot and has pretended to be strict in matters concerning religion, especially its formal aspects. He has tried to help Muslims in such states as the Philippines and Eritrea. Some people are deceived by these outward appearances at the beginning. No one believed that Al-Qadhdhafi could use religion as a smoke screen to achieve his personal dreams. His later actions exposed the falseness of his claims and showed his true nature. He turned against the Muslims in the Philippines, stopped his aid, and changed his conduct completely when he learned that the Philippine Government was prepared to grant the Muslims autonomy, that they no longer had any problems with their government, and that a spirit of good will began to characterize relations between the two sides. This displeased Al-Qadhdhafi, as he loves disturbances and problems as much as he hates stability and reconciliation.

What has happened to the Muslim rebels in Eritrea? Initially, Al-Qadhdhafi helped them in their fight against the ruling regime. Then he turned against them and allied himself with the government. He paid for 40 Soviet tanks that Ethiopia bought. He stopped all his aid to the Eritrean rebels.

Al-Qadhdhafi's actions inside Libya are numerous, and the Libyan people are fully aware of them. They are also aware that he interferes in religious affairs in a way that hurts the people's feelings. They also know how some of this alliances with the outside world reflect on his conduct at home. Sufficient evidence of this is the fact that Libya's radio broadcasts the call to prayers, as do radios in the Islamic states, in certain years but not in others for reasons only the ruling tyrant knows. He does not tolerate any discussion of his decisions, no matter how grossly incorrect they



may be. Still worse are Al-Qadhdhafi's attempts to distort the meanings and concepts of the Holy Koran. He also tried to deny the Prophet's tradition. Al-Qadhdhafi disregards God's saying: We have, without doubt, sent down the message; and we will assuredly guard it from corruption [koranic verse]. Al-Qadhdhafi ignores the fact that God Almighty has pledged to guard the Holy Koran and that every attempt throughout history to undermine or distort the Koran has failed. God has guarded his book and will always do so, despite all attempts to tamper with it.

Arab brothers in Libya: Perhaps you recall the speech which Al-Qadhdhafi delivered on law and the Prophet's tradition. You may recall how these unislamic statements, which contradict the sayings of the noble messenger, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, angered Libya's men of religion. They righteously raised their voices in the face of this despotic ruler.

Brothers in Arabism and Islam in Libya: You may also recall the argument which broke out between Al-Qadhdhafi and Libya's mufti when Al-Qadhdhafi asked him to endorse the verdicts which Al-Qadhdhafi passed on a group of Libyan university students during the famous April massacres. However, the mufti openly declared that these verdicts were baseless, unjust, and without foundation in divine law. He refused to endorse them, as they were a sham. Al-Qadhdhafi immediately issued an order dismissing the mufti from his religious post and placing him under house arrest. The death sentence was carried out against a number of students in Benghazi without the mufti's endorsement, which is required under Islamic law.

These are facts which the Libyan people and everyone in Benghazi know. This behavior is neither approved by religion nor by the people, who have been waiting a long time. We have the right to remind this people that the best thing one can say is a word of truth in the face of a despotic ruler.

CSO: 4500/115

EGYPT

BRIEFS

AL-JUMHURIYAH ON SHULTZ VISIT--Cairo, 10 May (MENA)--AL-JUMHURIYAH emphasizes that total U.S. commitment to Israel's security is one of the factors which causes the United States to lose its credibility as a superpower and as a partner in the peace process in the region. In Saturday's edition, AL-JUMHURIYAH writes: The time is now ripe for the United States to declare the limits of its commitment to Israel's security and to explain whether commitment goes to the extent of defending Israel's occupation of Jerusalem and the West Bank, and the invasion of Lebanon. The paper refers to the current Mideast tour of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, which he began by visiting Israel. The paper writes: Shultz' current tour provides a good opportunity to explain the limits of the U.S. commitment to Israel's security. Vague phrases and ambiguous statements do not conceal the facts: Israel's continuing occupation of Palestine, Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, and south Lebanon. In conclusion, AL-JUMHURIYAH calls upon the United States to realize that it is impossible for Israel's occupation of Arab territories to continue indefinitely. [Text] [Cairo MENA in Arabic 2235 GMT 10 May 85]

CSO: 4500/115

LIBYA

REPORT ON CURRENT LIBYAN TERRORIST CAMPAIGN ABROAD

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 22 Apr 85 pp 10, 11

[Article: "I Will Visit Tunisia After the Revolution!"]

[Text] It appears that the Libyan terrorist campaign which in recent years was aimed at Libyan opponents of the regime of Colonel al-Qadhdhafi residing in Britain, which abated immediately after the killing of the British police-woman, Yvonne Fletcher, in St. James Square in the British capital by a marksman from within the Libyan People's Bureau in London, has now entered a new phase, aimed not only at Libyan opponents, but at non-Libyan Arab citizens as well. It is also aimed at Arab rulers, whom al-Qadhdhafi described as "rotting corpses who live among us," in a speech at the end of this past March, which he gave on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the withdrawal of foreign forces from Libyan territory.

Why did Colonel al-Qadhdhafi decide to escalate his terrorist campaign against the opponents of his regime, Libyan or non-Libyan?

Why did he summon foreign journalists, on the 10th of this month, to al-'Aziziyah barracks, the same barracks which last May was subject to an armed attack by Libyan opposition, to explain to them the role and function which he has assigned to the "Arab Revolutionary Units," whose formation he supervises, with the goal of "freeing and uniting the Arab nation, from the gulf to the ocean," by the force of arms?

This past week, British police reported the arrest of a number of members of a Libyan assassination team who had entered Britain quietly. During their interrogation, a list was discovered which included the names of those whom they were to assassinate during the new terrorist campaign.

British police have confirmed that the list contained not only opponents of the Colonel, but also names of some non-Libyan Arab citizens and a number of names of distributors of newspapers which publish articles hostile to the Libyan regime.

It appears that the arrest of members of the Libyan assassination team by British police occurred immediately after meetings held recently in some European capitals by a committee of anti-terrorist specialists, which included leaders of the

American and European intelligence organizations, after information was exchanged during this meeting.

The interrogation which the British police are conducting currently with the terrorist elements who were arrested has disclosed that the elements were carrying two lists: one included names of those whom the Libyan regime considers to be the greatest danger to itself, and the second included names of those who cooperate with those whose names are on the first list.

Interrogation has revealed, in addition, that the orders issued to the assassination team were to carry out the assassination of the persons mentioned in the second list in case it was not feasible to assassinate those mentioned in the first list due to surveillance being imposed on them.

Immediately after this information, the British police relocated those whose names were included in the list, including some non-Libyan Arab citizens, from their residences to secret places, in order to provide heightened surveillance for their families and possessions.

At the same time that the British police were chasing the remaining members of the assassination team, the Federal Republic of Germany was the scene of a terrorist operation. Its victim was the Libyan refugee Jibril 'Abd-al-Razzaq al-Dinali, who was shot in the middle of the German capital of Bonn and who died on the 16th of April. A number of German men and women were also wounded seriously.

This is not the first time that Libyan opponents living in Germany have been assassinated.

In 1980, the former Libyan diplomat in Bonn, 'Umran al-Mahdawi, was assassinated. On 13 Nov 1982, two Libyan students were tortured in the residence of the Libyan ambassador, and in November, 1982, a kidnapping attempt was made against Jibril al-Dinali, and an assault was made on him by official employees of the Libyan embassy.

Observers have attributed the intensification of the Libyan terrorists campaign against Libyan opposition to the domestic tribulations of the Colonel. This is what the article published by AL-DUSTUR in this number emphasizes.

Concerning the terrorist campaign aimed at non-Libyan Arab citizens, and even the Arab rulers who do not share with al-Qadhdhafi his mercurial political attitudes, it seems that this is attributable, according to reports by Western journalists who attended the press conference held by Colonel al-Qadhdhafi on the 10th of this month at the "al-'Aziziyah" barracks, to al-Qadhdhafi's having decided to resort to violence and assassination to "liberate the Arab nation."

The Western journalists who attended this press conference were surprised by the lack of heightened security in front of the "al-'Aziziyah" barracks, as if the goal of this press conference was to persuade them that security is normal in the country and that the disturbances which occurred in that barracks last May were the fabrication of the imagination of some biased newspaper reporters.

Concerning the creation of what he calls the "leadership of the Arab revolutionary forces" which the Colonel announced during the press conference, which he said includes "all Arab nationalists," al-Qadhdhafi indicated that its activity will "be confined to the Arab world,"--as if by that he wishes to reassure the Europeans--with the exception of Morocco, about which he said that it is "now liberated."

Turning to the question of the presence of the Polisario in this leadership, Mu'ammam al-Qadhdahfi replied "the Polisario will not participate in this leadership."

Responding to the charge of interference in the internal affairs of Arab states, the Libyan leader said, clearly, that when he pursues revolution in any part of the Arab world, he is not bothered by this argument, because "the Arab nation and people and future are one."

Observers mention in this respect the speech which al-Qadhdhafi gave at the end of this past March, in which he strongly attacked all Arab rulers, when he said: "Personally, there can be no respect or esteem for any of those rulers, save for those who have announced their presence with us in the same trench."

In the same speech, Mu'ammam al-Qadhdhafi called the Arab masses to "bury these corpses, since it is by insolence that these regimes continue to govern after their historical end was recorded on all fronts."

Naturally, the Colonel did not name these regimes, and he was content, when questioned whether this concerns one of the neighboring states and whether he intends to visit Tunis, to say: "I will go to Tunis after the revolution."

12780

CSO: 4504/304

LIBYA

CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION DISCUSSED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 22 Apr 85 pp 8-10

[Article: "What is Happening in the Colonel's 'Jamahiriyah'?"]

[Text] Tripoli. At the beginning of last week, Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi, the leader of the Libyan Jamahiriyah, began a tour through Libya to inspect the "popular establishments" in the country. Observers in the capital have noted that this tour was accompanied by a campaign of applause extraordinary in the life of the Colonel. He was overwhelmed by large crowds of demonstrators supporting his policy and his thought. The Jamahiriyah News Agency emphasized to the press that these demonstrators were demanding continuation of "the popular march and application of the thoughts of the Green Book." What happened during the previous period which brings Colonel al-Qadhafi to need the sentiments that the Libyans are demonstrating--without a special occasion--in support of his policy? Some say that the events in Sudan have caused the Libyan leadership to feel that winds of change have begun to blow in the eastern part of the continent of Africa, and it therefore wants to fortify the country against any significant enemies which it faces. Some others, circles particularly well-informed on Libyan internal affairs, think that this situation can be traced to significant events witnessed within Libya recently, which lead the Libyan leadership to draw conclusions from them and to search for new solutions. In every case, the question which is now asked is: "What happened in Libya in recent weeks?"

The information which AL-DUSTUR obtained from Libyan sources confirms that Colonel al-Qadhafi was actually exposed to an assassination attempt in Benghazi, undertaken by some junior military officers. They were arrested, interrogated and executed. This occurred at the beginning of this past March. But--as was revealed in interrogation--this attempt did not reach the stage of implementation. On the contrary, the situation was that some junior officers had formed a special network to consider changing the system in the country, motivated by popular grumbling over shortage of some basic commodities, which was a result of pressures created by practices of the popular committees. However, some supporters of al-Qadhafi had infiltrated the group, and security authorities hurried to arrest all of the officers whose names appeared as participants in the group. The number of those arrested at first was about 60 military men. The accusations against most of them were proven, and they were executed within several days of their arrest. Further, the interrogation revealed that other cells were in league with the officers in Benghazi, and some members

of those cells in Tripoli, Sabha and Jabal al-Akhdar were arrested. This last group is the one which Western media circles have said was responsible for a second attempt to assassinate Colonel al-Qadhdhafi at the end of March, though the affair does not go beyond the results of the interrogation and revelations of the group in Benghazi. The Libyan sources who provided this information say that al-Qadhdhafi was informed personally about the interrogation and its aspects, and that he was very angry when he read a statement by some of the officers that the motivation which lead them to think about changing the political system in Libya is "the social situation and the economic crisis, the state of dilapidation brought about by the popular committees." In the words of one of the military men, "Libya, even in the era of the king, lived well, and did not need to travel for kilometers to purchase vegetables, while now, it does not know what its situation will be tomorrow."

The Libyan sources describe what happened during this past March as forming the first broad movement within the military establishment expressing opposition of this organization (to the "Green Book") and to the internal situation in Libya. The Bab al-'Aziziyah operation which appeared before this movement did not constitute a threat, in terms of an operation which was planned and executed by elements from outside, whereas the recent movements have come from within a most important organization, one on which political authority in Libya rests. What gives the Libyan leadership great concern about what happened is the role of the military establishment in the internal life of the country, and the fear which surrounds it. Since Colonel al-Qadhdhafi began to apply the "Green Book" and established the popular committees, the military establishment has demonstrated reservations and caution about the new path, and criticized Colonel al-Qadhdhafi openly. The Libyan leader replied through the newspaper AL-SAHF AL-AKHDAR, saying that most of the senior officers were "hashish users and drug smugglers." After this he announced dissolution of the army and formation of what he called an "armed people." He distributed weapons to people who had no connection with the military establishment. This was meant to overwhelm this organization with large numbers of armed people--who have no connection with the military establishment--and to diminish the role of the army and the opposition of the military men to the new policy. But the most important aspect of this is that it obscures differences within the Libyan leadership, which itself has its roots in the military. For years, everyone in Libya has known that Maj 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud has differed with Colonel al-Qadhdhafi on a large number of Arab and international policies. By virtue of his military and leadership position, Jallud distributed weapons to his tribe and tribes associated with it, while he kept weapons from the tribe of al-Qadhdhafi. Abu Bakr Yunis, chief of the general staff, acts freely in military matters, without recourse to Colonel al-Qadhdhafi. The Libyan leader does not, however, direct any criticisms against Jallud or Abu Bakr Yunis. Before the unity agreement with Morocco was concluded, 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud opposed the plan vehemently during debate on it. He made the Colonel adjourn the meeting, and returned the next day to suggest formation of a committee to evaluate Libyan foreign policy and set a new plan. 'Abd-al-'Atiy al-'Ubayd, a townsman related to 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud, was given chairmanship of the committee. Its report has not yet appeared, but its formation

gave Colonel al-Qadhdhafi opportunity to appoint one of his relatives, 'Abd-al-Salam al-Turayki, to head the Foreign Ministry. This reinforced the foreign policy differences of the Libyan leadership. Those who are well-informed about this say that the differences between al-Qadhdhafi and Jallud on the issue of Iran has become quite sharp. Jallud thinks that support for Khomeyni must be total and without reservation. This is the position manifested on most occasions. 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud is the only member of the Libyan leadership who visits Tehran and meets with Khomeyni. Jallud enthusiastically defends the need to supply weapons to Iran, and he is entrusted with decisions in this area. Colonel al-Qadhdhafi's position on Khomeyni varies, and he displays neutrality in the Iraq-Iran war, without supporting Iraq. He has made efforts, through one of his supporters, to communicate with some circles of the Iranian opposition.

Today, some ask about the relationship between the military men who were executed and circles of the Libyan leadership. Was this an effort to prevent differences penetrating to the bottom of the pyramid, or did it form a separate and independent movement, separate from these higher level differences?

In any case, contrary to some Western analyses, these internal differences do not threaten the political regime in Libya, because the Jamahiriya is in a stage in which the groups within it range between open opposition and moderate opposition within the organizations of the government. There is partial agreement between the contending forces in the government and its organizations to play the role of support or opposition under the umbrella held over them by al-Qadhdhafi. Al-Qadhdhafi participates in creating just such a situation, so that the struggles occur at a distance from him. Internal and external factors contribute to continuation of this situation, though there is no certainty of its results. Internally, the Libyan Jamahiriya is suffering an economic crisis which even the official authority recognizes to exist. It is a result of destruction of the official budget of the state and of the economic plan, in addition to the drop in the price of oil. This is reflected in the living situations of the people. Basic goods are missing from the markets, and poor and incorrect application of some of socialist concepts, and the translation of the ideas of the "Green Book" into economic practice, has made Libyan society a collection of mutually contradictory economic relationships, without balance between consumption and production.

In addition to this economic crisis, the country is suffering from a real crisis of freedoms. The Libyan leadership thinks that it is theoretically possible to apply the concepts of the "Green Book" in a time when it is clear that the real direction of history is toward democracy. Someone interested in Libyan affairs said "the basic problem of Libya today is the loss of institutions and loss of the state in outward appearances only when it agrees with him. In light of this situation, the talk about freedom and democracy means the need to change the existing regime fundamentally."

Externally, the waves of change which the eastern area of the African continent is experiencing, makes Libya, in the best of situations, surrounded by semi-democratic regimes, or experiencing crises which make it likely that



these countries will transfer their enmity to the Jamahiriyah. The Chad crisis has flared up again, in addition to the crisis of the Sudan and the situations in Tunisia and Egypt. This creates an atmosphere which encourages change in Libya. Just as the internal political problem of the Jamahiriyah is represented by preservation of the balances prior circumstances and conditions created, but whose time has come to an end, the external problem is represented by cultivation of hopes that the super-power struggles will remain in spheres of influence far from the borders of Libya. Whenever these struggles approach close to Libya, the possibilities for change in the Jamahiriyah increase.

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CSO: 4504/304

LIBYA

ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH LIBYA EXPANDING

Sofia IKONOMICHESKI ZHIVOT in Bulgarian 10 Apr 85 p 8

[Article by Stoyan Enev: "Mutually Beneficial Cooperation"]

[Text] Economic relations between Bulgaria and Libya date from 1964, but rapid development was accomplished only after the victory of the First of September Revolution in Libya in 1969. Only 3 years later (in 1972), a Bulgarian-Libyan joint committee for economic and scientific-technical cooperation was created; this committee actively influences the expansion and greater variety of trade and economic ties between our two nations.

The traditional meetings and personal contacts between General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party Todor Zhivkov and leader of the First of September Revolution Muammar Qaddafi are of decisive significance for the dynamic development of bilateral economic relations.

On the initiative of the two leaders, a long-term program for the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for the 1985-90 period was adopted; this program represents a healthy foundation for dynamic relations between our two friendly nations.

Favorable Results

Significant success has been achieved in the past several years in mutual economic cooperation. Bulgarian engineering organizations have participated in the construction of sites and enterprises in Libya, such as the chemical complexes in Ras Lanuf and Abu Kamash and the refinery in Zawia. They have put up hundreds of kilometers of high-tension, long distance lines, built airfields, including the international airport in Tripoli, silos, hospitals and clinics, refrigerated warehouses, sporting and tourist complexes, etc.

The results in the development of cooperation in agriculture are significant. With Bulgarian participation, Libya has built dozens of reservoirs, irrigation systems, has tested thousands of meters of land looking for underground water, created the first large apple and other fruit tree orchards, greenhouses, poultry combines, etc.

Cooperation in the construction of raw material and energy branches in Libya has been developing even more successfully. Based on a long-term concession agreement, the Bulgarian engineering organization Bulgargeomin has drilled test wells and discovered oil reserves.

A significant number of trained Bulgarian specialists are conveying their experience to Libyan agencies and organizations, most of all in the field of health protection. Cooperation in automobile and air transportation, communications, tourism, and other fields is expanding.

Based on the broad cooperation in the various fields and the two countries' growing possibilities, commodity exchange is increasing annually. In 1984, Libya attained first place among Bulgaria's nonsocialist trading partners.

The official friendly visit by chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic Grisha Filippov to Libya in February of this year gave new impetus to the development of bilateral cooperation. The conversations held categorically affirmed the mutual desire to expand economic relations. The Libyan side often stressed the tremendous authority of the Bulgarian People's Republic and Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally, as well as our nation's significant opportunities as an economic partner in the development of vitally important branches of the Libyan economy. A number of projects and fields for cooperation between the two countries on a long-term basis were discussed in this light.

#### Joyous Prospects

Significant prospects are being outlined for expanding joint activity, based on the long-term program for geologic studies of oil, as well as building new capabilities for the petrochemical industry in Libya, with our help.

In the field of power supply, Bulgaria will participate in the study, design, and construction of sites connected with the production and transport of electric energy, most of all within the framework of the KOMEE Bulgarian-Libyan association for electrification.

The opportunities for forming a number of small and mid-sized enterprises, in cooperation with our organizations and with Bulgarian equipment, were discussed, and a concrete long-term program will be developed in connection with this. Construction of enterprises for processing fruits and vegetables, for milk, for special attention was paid to cooperation in agriculture. We now foresee the adoption of a long-term program for construction of a number of sites related to field cultures, livestock breeding, and irrigation, with our assistance.

A form of recognition for our experience and capabilities is the invitation from the Libyans to Bulgarian organizations to participate in the execution of the huge, Great Artificial River project. Cooperation will be expressed in carrying out studies and tests, as well as in construction of irrigation

systems and industrial enterprises in future villages in the region of the Great River.

New prospects for the development of commodity exchange for the future on a long-term basis are being opened up. They will guarantee a stable supply of oil and other commodities for our country, in exchange for the Bulgarian agricultural and other machines, equipment, and items from light industry and foodstuffs that are needed for the Libyan economy.

The two countries express interest in broadening scientific-technical cooperation as well. In the next few years the number of Libyan students at our educational institutions will grow, and our instructors will work at their training centers in Tripoli, Benghazi, and Sebha.

In response to the constantly growing interest among business circles and broad groups of Libyan society in our nation's successes, the Libyan leadership has invited us to organize a huge, representative, Bulgarian trade, economic, and industrial exhibition in Tripoli this year.

The results so far, the agreements achieved, and the prospects outlined affirm the well-known conclusions of the main leaders of the two nations, Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Muammar Qadaffi, that Bulgarian-Libyan relations are an example of relations between two friendly nations, that they are on their way to more rapid socioeconomic development, in the name of happiness and prosperity for our peoples.

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CSO: 2200/139

BAHRAIN

LAW REGULATING MONEYCHANGERS DETAILED

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic Mar 85 p 60

[Text] Violations and excesses in the moneychanging sector pushed the Government of Bahrain to enact new legislation imposing supervision and limits on the practice of this profession. Here is a report on the reasons and purport of a law regulating the moneychanging profession.

The Bahrain Currency Authority is preparing to put into practice a law passed recently concerning regulation of moneychanging in the country, and regulations supervising the activities of all moneychanging business places, and creation of a division of the Department of Bank Supervision of the Bahrain Currency Authority devoted to this occupation.

The new law requires any person pursuing moneychanging activities in the country to obtain a license from the Bahrain Currency Authority, instead of the Ministry of Commerce, in implementation of the regulations of the commercial registry law.

Based on this, the Authority will determine the capital required when it issues a license for a moneychanging business, whose activities are limited to selling and buying foreign currencies and travellers checks. The Authority will require surety of not less than \$175,000.

Moneychanging businesses which have activity in the area of foreign drafts and transactions in precious metals must supply the Authority, within 3 months of the end of their fiscal year, a copy of their general budget and a profit and loss statement, relying on legal account investigators agreed upon by the Authority, in accordance with past procedures.

Moreover, it is not permissible for the licensed moneychanging businesses to change their legal structure, ownership, or capital or to in other ways incorporate before obtaining agreement of the Authority. A branch office may not be opened without obtaining official approval, though this excludes hotels which exchange travellers checks and currencies.

No person may engage in moneychanging or act as a representative of a foreign investment or financial agency without being officially licensed to pursue this occupation in the country. Anyone violating this is subject

to jail for a period of not more than 6 months and a fine of not more than \$270,000, or both, in addition to closure of the business subject to the violation.

This law was produced after violations appeared, such as issuance of drafts without available funds, entry into multiple financial risks, and speculation in the stock and money markets, in addition to other negative forms of behavior which harmed the reputation of the Bahrain financial markets.

On the basis of research by AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in the moneychanging market in Bahrain, some business proprietors confirmed that they conduct business with some clients by issuing drafts for use abroad, obtaining from them the cash value without there being sufficient funds to cover the drafts. This practice has led to a loss of confidence by some of the banks in places where they were cashed. Some banks in India began to take precautions against opening accounts with the moneychanging businesses, and some banks agreed to transactions on condition that they be given a bank guarantee or deal directly with the Central Bank of India.

It also became clear that most moneychanging businesses do not follow the practice of examining their books at the end of each year. Some play with the exchange rates, reducing profits to the lower limit in order to increase transactions. Another group, not restricted by the system of control of daily accounts, combines transaction in travellers checks, currencies, gold bullion and drafts without having experience or knowledge in these areas.

These negative aspects will be overcome by this new law, particularly after establishment of an office in the Bahrain Currency Authority bringing together a system of inspectors to perform field supervision of these businesses and studies and analyses of the reports mentioned, with the goal of guiding the development of role of this profession and these places of business.

It is well known that the moneychanging business has come to occupy a large position in the Bahrain market, and that the volume of its transactions has come to represent a large portion of the total financial activity in the country. Therefore, the need has appeared to regulate and supervise these businesses, to protect equally the businesses and their clients.

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ISRAEL

BRIEFS

BRIDGE-CROSSING PROCEDURES--The Civilian Administration in the territories has further eased regulations at the Jordan River bridges, following the cancellation of the maximum allowance of \$5,000 to be brought into the territories. Inter alia, a flat and relatively cheap rate has been set for portage. The rate was previously determined according to the number of suitcases. In addition, with the opening of the "summer visits" next month, the maximum number of people crossing over each bridge will be doubled to 2,500. Another move is the cancellation of accounting in shekels for the toll fees at the various bridges. From now on, the entire sum may be collected in dinars or the updated equivalent in shekels. [Text] [By Pinhas 'Inbari] [Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 2 May 85 p 16]

E. JERUSALEM JOURNALIST TRIAL--The military government has decided to put journalist Hamdi Frayj, from the Al-Duhayshah refugee camp, on trial for his role in the rioting that occurred several months ago in the camp. He is accused of disturbing the public order, throwing Molotov cocktails and stones at the homes of the camp's inhabitants, and causing sabotage and bodily harm. Two people were seriously injured in the course of the incident. Our correspondent Arye Gus comments that this occurred in January, during a mass confrontation in the camp between rival political factions. Hamdi Frayj was restricted to the Al-Duhayshah refugee camp for 3 years. He worked as a journalist for AL-MITHAQ, an East Jerusalem newspaper close to the rejectionist organizations. Other residents of the camp will also be tried along with him. [Text] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0900 GMT 24 Apr 85]

CUSTOMS TERMINALS IN LEBANON--The Customs Authorities and the IDF have decided to reduce the number of crossing points for the transfer of goods from Lebanon into Israel from 14 to 2 in order to curb smuggling. The crossing points will apparently be located at Metulla and Rosh Haniqra. [Text] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1000 GMT 30 Apr 85 TA]

IRISH MILITARY PURCHASE--The Irish Army is beginning to use Israeli ballistic helmets and is scheduled to abandon the British helmets it has been using for the past 18 years. The new helmets provide better defense and are lighter in weight, being 1.45 kg. The contract for the supply of the helmets was signed in August 1984, and includes a sufficient quantity to equip all the Irish Army's combat units. It is estimated that this will mean some 8,000 helmets. [Text] [Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 2 May 85 p 1 TA]

JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM USSR--Some 167 Jews left the Soviet Union in April and 62 of them came to Israel. Less than 100 Jews left the Soviet Union in March. [Excerpt] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1300 GMT 2 May 85 TA]

5 June 1985

## KUWAIT

## RESULTS OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS ANALYZED, SURPRISES NOTED

## Nationalist Upsurge

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 2 Mar 85 pp 8-10

[Article by Husayn Salamah: "Now That 231 Candidates Have Spent About \$42 Million, the Results of the Kuwaiti Elections Have Produced Surprises: Rising Star of Pan-Arab Tide and Ebb of Religious Influence"]

[Text] This coming Saturday, 9 March, the new Kuwaiti National Assembly will convene its first session after a new Kuwaiti government will be formed under Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah, the crown prince. In the life of the Kuwaiti parliamentary experiment, the new Assembly is the sixth since the beginning of the parliamentary experiment in 1963, when the first Kuwaiti parliament convened. Some 231 candidates fought the election battle for the Sixth Assembly; they competed for the 50 seats which form the total number of Assembly seats. According to estimates, these candidates spent about 14 million Kuwaiti dinars (\$42 million) on their election campaigns (headquarters expenses, publications, posters and banquets). The number of voters who settled the election battle with their votes reached 65,848.

The most prominent result produced by this election has been the resurgence of the pan-Arab current (the Democratic Grouping List), after this current had lost the battle for election to the previous Assembly to the religious current, whose influence has ebbed in this election, despite the fact that it has retained the number of seats that it had occupied in the former Assembly. The pan-Arab current is led by Dr Ahmad al-Khatib, a founder of the Arab nationalist movement, in conjunction with Palestinian leader Dr George Habash, in the early seventies. It is imperative for a political observer



following the developments of the political movement in Kuwait, and in the Arab Gulf generally, to pause before the results of the Kuwaiti parliamentary elections to ponder the important indicators reflected by their results, whether at the level of political life in Kuwait or at the level of putting the feelers on the pulse of the man in the street in the Gulf in the broader sense.

From Kuwait, AL-TADAMUN correspondent, Husayn Salamah has followed the election campaign as well as the surprises of victory and defeat, in which these elections have culminated. In the following analysis, we read his interpretation of these surprises.

On 20 February, the marriage of democracy took place in Kuwait following a wedding feast which lasted a full month and which it has been agreed was called the marriage of democracy. On this day, the Kuwaiti voters settled the election battle in which 231 candidates--representing the various trends--competed for 50 seats in the Kuwaiti National Assembly. The Kuwaitis have elected surprise candidates who were not expected to win in this manner--surprises which have completely overturned the the Assembly's basic structure.

It is permissible to say that all the tendencies which had waged the Kuwaiti parliamentary election battle have won access to the Assembly. However, two major surprises have occurred in these elections: the first is the ouster of the former Assembly speaker, Khalid al-'Adasani, and of the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee during the Assembly's past five sessions, namely, Jasim Hamad al-Saqr. These two parliamentary figures had always been viewed in their capacity as the basis of the balance within the Kuwaiti parliament. The second surprise is embodied in the Democratic Grouping's (the nationalists') overrunning of the constituencies in which they had waged the elections. The grouping's march has been at the expense of the religious current, some of whose prominent candidates, such as 'Isa al-Shahin and Khalid al-Sultan, were unsuccessful. Although this current has not lost Assembly seats, since it has been able to retain the former number of its seats, its influence, however, has regressed before the victory which was scored by the nationalist candidates, that is, the Democratic Grouping List.

[Inset]

Some 56,848 voters have settled the competition for 50 seats, with results that will impact on the Kuwaiti parliamentary map.

In the al-Rawdah constituency, the defeat of 'Isa Majid al-Shahin, a leader of the religious current's candidates, occurred to the benefit of the nationalist current's leader, Ahmad al-Khatib. In the Kayfan constituency, the surprise of the downfall of Al-'Adasani, the former Assembly speaker.

The Muslim Brotherhood and the "al-Salafiyun" [Islamic reformists] retained their seats, but their influence receded before the nationalists, while the Shi'ite current was the heaviest loser.

The tribal candidates were the greatest winners so far as numbers are concerned, and their strength in the Assembly amounts to 56 percent.

Some 28 members have been defeated, including 7 members who did not nominate themselves and 21 who lost the election.

Within the context of the surprise, or more precisely of the surprises, sprung by the Kuwaiti elections, we notice that parliamentary figures are absent from the Assembly, after these figures had earlier gained prominence in the National Assembly. These include 'Abd-al-Muhsin Jamal, one of those classified in the first category so far as their mastery of the parliamentary game is concerned. These figures also include 'Adnan 'Abd-al-Samad and 'Abd-al-Karim al-Juhaydili.

Just as figures well versed in parliamentary action have departed the Assembly, important symbols for national action and pan-Arab action have returned to the Assembly, such as Dr Ahmad al-Khatib, who is regarded as a founder of the Arab nationalist movement, who has been a participant in Kuwaiti democratic parliamentary activities since the establishment of the Constituent Assembly in 1963 up to the 1975 dissolution of the Assembly and who was absent during the past legislative period because he had lost the elections which were held on 23 February 1981 but who has now returned to occupy the seat of 'Isa Majid al-Shahin, a forceful representative of the religious current in the previous Assembly.

In addition to Dr al-Khatib, a new face has appeared for the Democratic Grouping--a face that had won prominence only during the election campaign which took place a month ago. This is Dr Ahmad al-Rubi'i, who enters the Assembly for the first time. He is a graduate of Harvard University in the U.S. and an instructor of philosophy at the University of Kuwait.

Furthermore, Sami al-Manis also won for the Grouping. He was a member of previous assemblies, save for the last one. He is chief editor of the Kuwaiti AL-TALI'AH weekly magazine and deputy president of the Arab Journalists Union for freedom of the press affairs. Al-Manis is also a well-known nationalist figure in Kuwait and the Arab world. To these winners is also added the victory of Jasim al-Qitami, who occupies the seat of Jasim al-Saqr.

Another prominent winner in these elections is Dr 'Abdallah al-Nufaysi, a former instructor at the University of Kuwait. He was dismissed from the university and his passport was confiscated in the early eighties, after he had published a book entitled "Kuwait...The Other Face," in which he criticized Kuwaiti political life and the influence of the

tribal and clanish spirit. It is worth noting that it is not possible to regard Dr Al-Nufaysi as a representative of any current, since he does not belong to the Muslim Brotherhood group or to Al-Sulafiyun. He cannot be counted as a member in the Democratic Grouping. He will neither be a loyalist nor belong to the conservative current. It is possible to say about him that he belongs to all these currents. He speaks of Islam from a progressive point of view and he has his own philosophy on the compatibility of the Islamic religion with social and political realities. It is inevitable that he will meet with all the members of the opposition of various inclinations in the Assembly.

Hamad al-Ju'an is also considered a new prominent figure in the new Assembly. He was formerly director general of the Social Security Agency--an agency with diversified and important responsibilities, which al-Ju'an had skillfully run. The same applies to 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Ghunaym. He is an engineer who for a long time occupied the post of under secretary of the Ministry of Communications. He lost the past elections, and he is the son of Khalid al-Ghunaym--a former speaker of the National Assembly. In a remote area, Eng Du'ayj al-Jari won the seat formerly occupied by his father, who was a member in previous assemblies.

So far as the religious current is concerned, it is divided in the Assembly into two trends which competed with each other in the elections. These are the Muslim Brotherhood trend, whose adherents rally around the Social Reform Society, and the al-Salafi trend, which was represented in the previous Assembly by two deputies, namely, Khalid al-Sultan and Jasim al-'Awan. Khalid al-Sultan has gone out, only to be replaced by Ahmad Baqir. Therefore, al-Salafiyun have preserved the two seats. Furthermore, the Muslim Brotherhood group also retained three seats in the Assembly. The first seat was taken by former deputy Hammud al-Rumi, while the other two seats were occupied by two new deputies, namely, Mubarak al-Duwaylah and 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Mutawwa'.

The Cultural Social Society which represents a Shi'ite current, is considered the biggest loser in these elections. It lost the seats of two prominent deputies, namely, 'Abd-al-Muhsin Jamal and 'Adnan 'Abd-al-Samad, whose seat was won by the Shi'ite deputy who does not represent the Cultural Society, namely, Dr Ya'qub Hayait, instructor of law at the University of Kuwait. Dr Nasir Sarkhuh retained his seat and he was joined in victory in the same constituency by 'Abbas al-Khudari, who occupied the seat of Dr Khalid al-Wasmi. Both deputies Sarkhkhun and Al-Khudari represent the Cultural Social Society.

Despite all these changes in the Assembly, the proportion of the Bedouin tribes' deputies remained the highest in the Assembly, with this proportion continuing to represent 56 percent of the members, that is, 28 seats. The rate of change in the current Assembly, in comparison with the previous Assembly, reached 56 percent, since 28 members of the previous Assembly are absent from the new Assembly, including 7

members who had not placed themselves in nomination. These include three who did not run for health reasons and two who made room for others, namely, Hizam al-May' and Muhammad al-Rashid, who made room for Hamad al-Ju'an, in addition to a member who fell in a by-election held in his constituency prior to the general elections, namely, Badr al-Mudar. These by-elections are held without being based on any legal or constitutional stipulation. They are a recent practice exercised in the outlying areas, that is, in the bedouin areas, in consolidation of tribal authority. Such a by-election occurred only once in an urban area and only in one electoral constituency, which provoked considerable criticism of such by-elections, which have been described as a danger to national unity. The seventh and last member, who is absent from the Assembly and who has not waged the elections, is the minister of communications, 'Isa al-Mujaydi, who preferred to stay at his post because his resignation, if it occurred, would tend to cause a constitutional flaw, since he is the sole minister who represents the National Assembly in the government. There is a stipulation in the Kuwaiti constitution which bans forming a government without this government including at least one minister drawn from the Assembly.

In accordance with the Kuwaiti constitution, which stipulates changing the government following all parliamentary elections, Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Sabah, the crown prince and prime minister, submitted to the amir of Kuwait the letter of his government's resignation last Saturday, that is, on 23 February. The amir asked the crown prince to form a new cabinet, of which the crown prince must submit a list of members to the amir prior to 9 March--the constitutional date for the convening of the inaugural session of the new legislative period.

The new formation of the National Assembly inspires numerous impressions, which characterize it with strength, to the point where this National Assembly considers the strongest of the parliaments which have come about successively during the past 23 years. It is inevitable that this Assembly requires a strong government formation that can be harmonious with it during the coming phase, which is considered one of the most difficult phases through which Kuwait has passed, especially if we take into account Kuwait's budget deficit which has recurred during the past 3 years and which will continue so long as the international economic situation remains unchanged, in addition to the serious political tension which imposes a continuation of the Iraq-Iran war in the Gulf area in general, and near Kuwait in particular, in view of its proximity to this war. Furthermore, all are waiting impatiently for the first days of the new Assembly, and many people wonder: who will win? Both the Assembly and the government in the interest of the public, or just the government, should their views prove to be conflicting and obdurate? This question will be answered by the democratic course which the new Assembly will pursue.

It remains necessary to note that the elections have been carried out in a democratic and free atmosphere and all the means of calm, security and success have been made available to these elections. In the 25 constituencies, which constitute all the parts of Kuwait, only a simple incident not worth mentioning has occurred, that is, a usual and simple dispute among some voters in an outlying area.

Furthermore, it is worth noting the sharpness of the battle which raged during the election campaign as well as the sharpness of the proposals and of the information battles in which the Kuwaiti press had participated in a fundamental way. A paper pursued the line of extending noticeable support for the nationalist candidates (the Democratic Grouping), while another paper pursued the line of giving full support to the conservative current. Meanwhile, the third paper stayed midway between both trends. Each of the five daily newspapers had its own candidates for this Assembly. There can be no doubt that the Kuwaiti press has played a basic role in backing the election campaign and in leading it to the results which it has produced.

Some quarters have estimated the sums which were spent on the elections at about 14 million Kuwaiti dinars, or some \$42 million. This was the cost of the headquarters whence the candidates directed their election campaigns at great expense and with considerable pomp--without discriminating between this or that current.

#### Al-Khatib Autobiography

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 2 Mar 85 pp 11-13

[Article by Yusuf al-Shihab: "Ahmad al-Khatib in the Book 'Men in Kuwait's History'"]

[Text] Despite the fact that Dr Ahmad al-Khatib, the leader of the nationalist current in Kuwait, is a well-known personality in Arab quarters, the information which Dr Al-Khatib has related about his life and about his political experience and which has been published by Yusuf al-Shihab in his book "Men in Kuwait's History," constitute an important aspect of Dr Al-Khatib's career about which AL-TADAMUN has decided to inform readers. Our colleague AL-QABAS published this chapter in its issue of 22 March 1984. At this point, we publish excerpts from this chapter with the permission of the author of the book of AL-QABAS.

[Question] When did you enter political life?

[Answer] My political life began at the American University of Beirut, where I received my college education. Problems began in 1948, when the Palestine war broke out and when the disaster which ensued from this war occurred. The university was known for its sensitivity to pan-Arab issues. There would be a strong reaction to any Arab event, especially because there were Palestinian students at the university.

I lived with these students and we went to the refugee camps, after having gathered clothes and collected funds required for the refugees. Dr Ahmad al-Khatib added: What happened to our university colleagues from among the Palestinian students made it imperative to share our allocations in our capacity as Arab students with our Palestinian colleagues so that they could continue their studies. This held particularly true since foreign banks had frozen these colleagues' funds. Naturally, this led us to stand alongside the Palestinian students, for this stand was an announcement of our entry into political life.

[Question] What do you also remember?

[Answer] I also remember that in my last year of study at the university, tumultuous student demonstrations were staged to protest the 1952 U.S. intervention in the Middle East. Clashes occurred with policemen in Beirut, and I, together with a Palestinian colleague who studied with me at the American University, was dismissed. Since the Arab nationalist movement was widespread in Lebanon, a student strike began which encompassed all schools in protest against the dismissal decision to which I, together with my Palestinian colleague, had been subjected. Even more, the students marched in a large demonstration that proceeded toward the university, and the demonstrators shouted slogans calling for the downfall of the university director, Penrose. The students were not content with this action, but they tried to attack Penrose at his home, especially the students from Tripoli, who carried a charge of dynamite to blow up the Penrose house. Dr Al-Khatib continued his memories with this event and said: In view of this sweeping current of demonstrations of support for us, we took the initiative in stopping the demonstrators and calming them down. Furthermore, the Lebanese government intervened and reinstated the other colleague and me at the university, and the dismissal decision that had been made by the university was withdrawn. The curious thing was that the director of the American University wondered in surprise and said: I do not know who is the director of the university, Penrose or Ahmad al-Khatib?

[Question] When did you leave Kuwait for the first time for the American University?

[Answer] My going to Beirut has a story. It began in February 1942, when I left Kuwait for Beirut to study. I traveled by car, since Khalid al-Musallam and 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Latif al-Mutawwa' had returned to the country from Iraq. Therefore, I went with them when they wanted to return to Beirut. He added: We left Kuwait during the spring holiday that year for Basrah and then for Baghdad, and I resided in the house of 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Mutawwa' with the rest of my companions on the journey.

[Question] Did you stay long in Baghdad?

[Answer] In Baghdad, I fell sick with typhoid. When 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-'Ali al-Mutawwa' saw me, he sent a letter to Shaykh Yusuf ibn 'Isa, in which he told Shaykh ibn 'Isa: This is a little, sick child. How can he go alone to Beirut? Then he suggested that Shaykh ibn 'Isa return me to Kuwait. After a while, the late 'Abdallah al-Fallah came to me and said: Ahmad, do you want to study in Beirut, or do you wish to return to your mother in Kuwait? I told him: No, I want to go to study in Beirut. He said: Then, be prepared to escape from Baghdad to Lebanon. So I prepared everything. I left in a car belonging to the al-Muttahidah Company and went through Damascus, while he remained in Baghdad. The curious thing was that he brought me a basket of fruit before leaving Baghdad. I asked him the reason for bringing the basket, and he answered that it was for the road. I took the basket and I left in a "junk" car that kept stopping throughout the journey. Therefore, we arrived in Damascus from Baghdad 3 days later. And he wondered: Do you believe it?

[Question] What was the reason for this delay?

[Answer] The car that took us from Baghdad to Damascus was a very old one. It kept on breaking down, to the point that when the car stopped at one time, the driver told us: What is your opinion, folks? Shall we burn the car and warm ourselves at its fire? We told him: How can we burn it, while we are here in this area? We did not agree with his suggestion and we continued our journey in this car, until God willed for us to reach Damascus in the morning.

[Question] How did you begin your studies in Beirut?

[Answer] At the beginning, I was given a comprehensive examination, and I was then given private lessons in the English language. In light of the results that I had achieved, they placed me in the second class secondary. He added: They followed the system of averages, whereby they allowed whoever scored an 85 percent average to study in the summer. Since I had scored higher than average, I completed the secondary phase within 2 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  years, and I was then a boarder at the American University. We were allowed to go out only once a week. This is their system for the students in the secondary phase.

Then I began studying at the American University in the 1944-1945 academic year. Perhaps the most amazing thing in my study there was that when I reached Fourth Class B I was placed with a group of troublemakers. The university administration got wise to this some time after my studies had begun, and the administration distributed us among several classes.

[Question] How about your study in Kuwait?

He said laughingly and while lighting his cigarette: I began at Al-Mubarakiyah at age 7. He added: However, I do not regard myself as having studied there, because I did not stay longer than half a day.

Should you ask the reason, I will tell you that it was due to our teacher, the late 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Ruwayh. He asked me to write what was written on the blackboard, which was divided into two parts. When he came back to see what I had written, he found nothing. He asked me: Why did you not write? I said: I do not know. He hit me, and afterward I did not return to Al-Mubarakiyah, and that was the beginning of the end with it.

[Question] You stopped studying after that?

[Answer] No, I went to Al-'Anjari School, and it followed the system of the Koran schools. The curious thing was that Al-'Anjari treated me kindly for fear that I would run away from him. He seated me next to him and, when I was thirsty, he would give me water to drink from his own water bottle. At Al-'Anjari School, I learned the Holy Koran as well as elementary reading and arithmetic.

[Question] And afterward?

After Al-'Anjari School, regular schools had been opened following the arrival of a mission of teachers from Palestine in 1936-1937. At that time, I entered Al-Ahmadiyah School and they placed me in the second class elementary without giving me any examination, because of the large number of students who had applied to enroll in the school. At Al-Ahmadiyah, Salih al-Shalfan was with us, but he was in a class of his own, because he had come from Iraq and his standard differed from ours. Khalid al-Nasrallah was our sports teacher.

Dr Al-Khatib continued talking about his school days in Kuwait. After lighting his cigarette, he said: After Al-Ahmadiyah, I went to Al-Qibliyah School, where I stayed for the 1937-1938 school year. Our school director was 'Abd-al-Malik al-Salih. I then returned to Al-Mubarakiyah, after I had left it as a result of the beating I received from teacher 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Ruwayh on the first day of study at this school. This time, I stayed for a year after Al-Qibliyah.

While laughing, Dr Ahmad al-Khatib continued his story: At Al-Mubarakiyah, they placed me in the middle of its class of troublemakers. The trouble was that I was their monitor. The students included 'Abdallah al-'Ali and 'Abdallah al-Banwan and others who were lesser villains than the other two.

Our director at Al-Mubarakiyah was Ahmad Shihab al-Din, and the teaching staff included Mahmud Najm, Faysal al-Tahir, Jabir Hadid and 'Abd-al-Latif al-Salih, about whom I remember a story: in my capacity as class monitor, I was supposed to write the names of the troublemakers on the blackboard. However, I did not write down the names of any troublemakers. When the late 'Abd-al-Latif al-Salih came to the classroom, he did not find any name written, although the students shouted loudly. He asked me about the names and I answered him that I had not written any names. He said: "Ahmad, come to see me after class." I



went to see him after this threat, and he beat me as punishment for not having written the names of the villainous students.

[Question] Did you stay a long time at Al-Mubarakiyah?

[Answer] I stayed only 3 years, precisely up to the first class secondary, which I did not complete.

[Question] Why did you not complete it?

[Answer] In that year, 'Abd-al-Latif al-Shamlan, the education department director at that time, sent a letter to the American University explaining to them that Kuwait intended to send two students to study at this university. The answer was that the university did not know our educational standards.

[Question] Therefore, how did you go?

Dr Ahmad al-Khatib said, while summoning his recollections: In that year, when our education department wanted to send a group of students on scholarships to Beirut, Al-Mubarakiyah School was the scene of a study strike staged in protest against the cancellation of the Monday holiday, after the parents of the students had asked that this holiday be dispensed with and that it be replaced with study, because they did not want their children with them at home for fear of mischief. The reaction to this strike was clearly reflected by the presence of Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Jabir, the chief of the education department, and 'Abd-al-Latif al-Shamlan, the director of the education department, who came to investigate this strike with the monitors of the school's classes. Dr Al-Khatib stopped for a while and then continued his talk and said: I was one of those involved in the investigation into this strike. On that day, 'Abd-al-Latif al-Shamlan told me: "Even you, Layahil, are with them?!" I was not expelled in view of my young age. Because I was not expelled, I was lucky enough to go to Beirut in February 1942. Coincidence alone led me to Beirut. I have given you the details of the journey and of what I had seen on the way to Beirut through Basrah, Baghdad and Damascus.

[Question] How many years did you stay at the university?

[Answer] Perhaps you know that the study of medicine differs from other studies, because this study is of a special nature. Therefore, I studied at the university for 8 years, including 4 years of doctorate study. I was graduated in 1952 with a specialization in general medicine and surgery. I worked immediately upon graduating in the Emirate Hospital for 1 and ½ years, and then I took a 6-month scholarship in London to study tropical diseases. I returned to Kuwait in 1954, and I worked at the Emirate Hospital until 1957, when I resigned and began working in my private clinic, which was located in the building of

Shaykh Ahmad al-Jabir, near the old al-Salihhiyah poli-e station. At the beginning, work was somewhat difficult and then matters improved and took a turn for the better.

[ Question] What were the reasons for your resignation?

[Answer] There were many reasons why I could not work in the hospital and so long as they remained, I felt that resigning was the sole solution. While he inhaled smoke from his cigarette, he added: I resigned and I do not want to go into the details.

I asked Dr Ahmad al-Khatib: You were a prominent member in the National Cultural Club. What is the story behind the founding of this club?

He answered, after having remembered of the first step that was taken toward the founding of the club: The beginning was the submission of an application to the security authorities at that time and with this application a list of our names as a group, which included brothers Ahmad al-Saqqaf, Muhammad al-Saddah, Ahmad Zayd al-Sarhan, 'Abd-al-Razzaq al-Basir, 'Abd-al-'Aziz Ahmad al-'Isa, Yusuf Ibrahim al-Ghanim and Yusuf Mashair al-Badr as well as myself. We all wrote an application for approval of the founding in 1953.

The late Nasf al-Yusuf and the late 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Sun' helped us submit the application to Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Mubarak at the Public Security Department. In the letter, we also proposed that he be the club's honorary president.

Dr Ahmad al-Khatib completed his talk and said: After some time, approval of the founding of the Cultural Club was granted. We began with the founding measures. We rented the house of 'Abdallah al-'Awadi in al-Sharq to make it the club's premises. We prescribed a membership fee of 5 rupees per member. Then we began receiving those who wanted to subscribe with us, and many members joined us.

[Question] And the club, did it witness situations that you still remember?

[Answer] Which situations do you want? There are many situations, and, sometimes, one almost does not remember them. However, I will tell you about this situation, which the club had witnessed and which I still remember. In 1956, when President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir nationalized the Suez Canal, in July as I remember, the clubs existing in the country at that time agreed to hold an oratory festival on the club premises in support of the nationalization decision. We wished to march in a demonstration at the end of this festival, but we were banned from doing this. We said: All right, we do not want to go out, and we stayed inside the club.

After lighting another cigarette, he added: When the crowds of participants left the club to go back for their homes, they were surprised by security men coming to the club. The security men thought that the masses had gone out in the demonstration, and they did not know that the masses were returning home. At this point, as Dr Al-Khatib said, the security men began beating the masses, which led to casualties and clashes among them. Naturally, this prompted me to leave the Culbural Club quickly for the Emirate Hospital, where my clinic was, to receive the casualties from among the policemen and the masses. It was nighttime, as I remember. As Dr Al-Khatib said, the curious thing about this incident was that some demonstrators lost their watches, while others lost their headgear, in addition to the groaning of the wounded. The doctor stopped talking and he then said: As usual, the British played a role in what had happened that year.

I asked: What happened to the club after this incident?

He answered laughing: Nothing. All that happened was that the club was closed for some time after this incident. Then, the late 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Sani' and the late Nusf al-Yusuf mediated in the reopening of the club, and it was indeed reopened after what it had experienced.

Consequently, the conversation with Dr Al-Khatib stopped, although I wished it would not end. There are many questions on my mind--questions that need answering. However, a pen might slip while writing these questions, because they and the answers to them are taboo, or, at least, because of the lack of an opportune time to publish them. For all these reasons, the conversation came to an end.

12839

CSO: 4404/227

SYRIA

FORMER PRESIDENT INTERVIEWED ON OPPOSITION

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 4 Mar 85 pp 8-10

[Interview with Muhammad Amin al-Hafiz, former Syrian president, by 'Abd-al-Wahhab al-Qaysi; date and place not specified]

[Text] The press is one of the ways that politicians conduct wars. But diverging from the habit of many presidents, former Syrian President Muhammad Amin al-Hafiz has preferred silence over speech, and has stayed away from the limelight, excusing himself with his well-known smile. Every time I saw him at a function, he would press my hand, saying, "I prefer work to talk." But this time, AL-DUSTUR cornered Former Syrian President Muhammad Amin al-Hafiz, and he was convinced to talk, in particular about his collections of the coup of 23 February in Syria.

Muhammad Amin al-Hafiz says animatedly, "This was not the Syria of the Arabs of once upon a time. God forbid! Does Syria stand as a citadel of Arabism against Iraq, which has been fighting for 5 years in the trenches to defend the Arabs from harm?"

AL-DUSTUR: What stages has the Syrian opposition gone through in trying to accomplish its goals?

Al-Hafiz: The opposition is divided into two parts: The first includes the majority of the Syrian people. The second is the organized opposition, which has been named "The National Alliance for the Liberation of Syria."

The organized opposition, for its part, includes two fundamental, basic movements: the nationalist movement, represented by the Arab Socialist Ba'th and the Nasserite movement; and the Socialist Union, the Arab Socialists and other groups that include independent nationalist figures. There is also the Islamic movement, which includes the Islamic Front and the Muslim Brotherhood.

The National Alliance is considered a great step toward bringing these two movements together. In the past there have been broad and deep differences. The agreement by the two movements to take a stand against the Asad regime with all available means is a great step and a big victory for the opposition, which works within the limits of what is possible, just as politics is

is always "l'art du possible." The truth of the matter is that we in the alliance are facing an adversary about whom the least you can say is that he is a powerful and blood-thirsty traitor. Especially his well-known positions in the June War, and the shocking defeat that has handed to the Syrian army and the Arab people. Then there is the fact that in the Sinai War, he abandoned the Egyptian army to be slaughtered like sheep. Not to mention his abandoning the Palestinians and his failure to support Jordan. Not to mention the fact that in the resolutions of the summit conference, Syria took upon itself the obligation to provide from 3 to 5 military divisions specifically to Jordan, because we consider that defending the Syrian front on the Jordanian wing should be with the help of the Jordanian front.

As I said, the opposition is political, and politics works with the art of the possible and doing what can be done. We hope God gives us good fortune in our future effort to bring down the Asad regime. The government in Syria is getting support: Zionism is clearly its ally, and I am not being unfair to them if I mention a statement made by President Husni Mubarak to an Israeli journalist - the president of the Arab Republic of Egypt is a man of sound judgement, rational and upright, one of the best officers and a committed Arab who would oppress no one.

President Mubarak replied to the Israeli reporter's question about Syria, "There is a gentlemen's agreement between you (meaning the Israelis) and Hafiz al-Asad." Not to mention statements made by American leaders and statements made by Israeli leaders giving Hafiz al-Asad a certificate of good behavior with respect to Israel, and a certificate of bad behavior with respect to us as Arabs. As the Israeli leaders say, this man is "extremely reliable in agreements relative to the Golan Heights." For more than 10 years, he has not violated or contravened any Syrian agreement between him and Israel. Not to mention his behavior during the Israeli attack on southern Lebanon during 1978 and then the Israeli attack on Lebanon in 1982, and his preventing the Syrian army from shooting a single bullet against the Israeli army occupying Lebanon. The Israelis would advance, and he would retreat. In 1982, in the siege of Beirut, he abandoned the Palestinians who had fought for 90 days like heroes under the leadership of Yasir 'Arafat. Friend and foe alike were witnesses to their heroism, sacrifice and patience, at a time when they were poorly armed in the face of advanced Israeli technology. I would like to say that they prevented them from entering Beirut with humble weapons, while Hafiz al-Asad, in a battle of appearances between him and Israel, was signing a cease-fire agreement, leaving the Palestinians and Lebanese to face death alone.

The Syrian opposition is shedding a revealing light on this darkness, which is being perpetrated by the Zionist, Western and Eastern allies of Hafiz al-Asad and pointing out what happened in Homs, Hama, Latakia, Aleppo and especially in Adlab and Hama, where the tragic massacre was committed that cost 35,000 Syrian victims.

The opposition is working on a number of focuses whose goal is to bring down the regime using all available means.

AL-DUSTUR: But do you not think that Hafiz al-Asad's perseverance is part of the balancing game imposed on the region?

Al-Hafiz: I do not believe that Hafiz al-Asad's perseverance is part of the balancing game imposed on the region. Rather, it is carrying out a conceived strategic plan, whose goal it is to fragment the region according to factions and to annihilate the PLO, heading by the fighter Yasir 'Arafat. That would be a service to Israel's plan for capitulatory solutions, and at the same time, would punish the Syrian people for their long history of struggle and for the way they have stood up against colonialism and imperialism.

Colonialism has entrusted Hafiz al-Asad and his followers with control of the situation, and so he has ripped apart the Syrian people, dealt a blow to the PLO, and ripped apart Lebanon and killed the best of its sons. He did not content himself with that, but rather destroyed the sons of his own faction, those who had been deceived and oppressed.

AL-DUSTUR: But how did the choice fall on him?

Al-Hafiz: I tell you, Hafiz al-Asad was not chosen. He might be a fox in sheep's clothing, but when it is said of him that he is clever and smart and skilled at playing tactics and doing tricks, I have another opinion. It is the media that cover many of his crimes and treacheries that have given him his polished look.

They wanted him as a Ba'thist so that they could conceal themselves in the Ba'th against the real Ba'th, represented by those who had built it, especially Mr Michel 'Aflaq. They used him to conceal themselves in a false Ba'th whose true sectarian nature was falsified, even if the 'Alawite faction was oppressed, just as the rest of the people were. What the 'Alawites have to do is eliminate this interloper who has harmed them and brought them to this predicament.

Your question is good: How was Hafiz al-Asad chosen?

When Hafiz al-Asad went to London in 1964, we were told that he absented himself from the delegation that he was with at the time. He was absent from the embassy and from the delegation for 48 hours, and we learned later that he had been the guest of the British minister of colonialism, Thompson. After his return, the news reached the officers who were members with him in the delegation. More than 40 officers filed complaints about the matter, Hafiz having been a leading member in the air force at the time.

How he concealed himself is another matter.

As I recall, after his participation in dealing a blow to the party in 1966 (at the time I was among those who had been imprisoned) Hafiz al-Asad went to one of the air bases in the city of Hama and made a speech. At my side was Muhammad 'Umrān (may he rest in peace), who was later murdered at Hazif al-Asad in Tripoli, in Lebanon.

What Hafiz al-Asad said, in short, is that "we have no problems with our comrades," meaning, in his words, that we were united in solidarity. He was lying, as became clear later. He also would attack Arab reactionalism, conducting a very violent campaign against it at a time during which we know that he was putting out feelers to it. He is a Machiavelli--he does one thing and says another. He says that he granted a pardon to the political prisoners, and this is not true. In fact, from the time he took power until now, he has not pardoned any Ba'thists or any from the nationalist movement. We have young Ba'thists who have been in prison for more than 17 years. He also gave a speech in which he said that we are ready to wage war with Israel, to teach Israel a lesson it will not forget, and that we will leave mourning in every Israeli house. This is the way he spoke of the opposition: We will work toward a fundamental purge of the opposition that is working against us.

What does this mean? That he assures Zionism and colonialism that this ruler will put the knife to the necks of the people, and that the majority of the people is opposed to his rule. They have found in him the perfect opportunity to tear apart the people.

AL-DUSTUR: You were at the head of the government. What did you know about him then?

Al-Hafiz: When Hafiz al-Asad disappeared for 48 hours, he being a member in the delegation, but not its head, I received reports about it. But I can say that great powers got involved (and I do not know how they came or from where) to accuse me of factionalism and to hide Hafiz al-Asad's connection with Thompson.

In the 1967 war, Asad presented the Golan Heights to Israel on a gold platter, and the homeland was sold for a trifling price. He also corrupted the Syrian army and turned it into a factional army, committed to personal allegiance to one family and one faction, and anyone who objected to that was purged.

He also claims not to recognize Resolution 242, but Iraq's delegate, Mr. Taha Yasin Ramadan, who headed the summit conference held in Tripoli, Libya, replied to him, "You stopped the shooting after two days of battle and got the Soviet Union to act as a mediator for a cease-fire. After a while you recognized Resolution 338, issued by the Security Council, and demanded the wholesale application of Resolution 242, which includes unequivocal and unambiguous recognition of Israel." He used to say one thing and do another. He gave the Zionist much more than they could dream of. After the implementation of the conspiracy of

23 February, while we were in jail, many pictures appeared that uncovered his hostility toward the Arabs and Islam. "The People's Army" was distributed to us and we read a very serious article in it that was opposed not only to Islam, but to all religions.

In this article, the author writes, "The Lord of the Universe - God forgive me - has been relegated to the museums and Moses, Jesus and Muhammad are part of a superstitious way of thinking."

This shameful article gives a heretical and disgusting picture that cannot be passed over in silence. After this article, we found out from our reliable sources that Hafiz al-Asad himself was behind this article. We found out that a large delegation of religious scholars went to visit Asad to protest against this article and he said to them, "Whoever opens his mouth, I will cut out his tongue." Then there was a lot of agitation against Hafiz al-Asad and the markets were closed. We found out that the author of the article, whose name is Ibrahim Khalas, was thrown into prison, and he thus avoided all responsibility in this matter, even though it is known that no word is written in the army's journal without his knowledge and supervision.

Hafiz harmed the people in his own faction, though they are good people and brothers to us, and our hope is that his faction will strike a blow against him because he has done harm to them and put them in a bad situation. By so doing they will have saved themselves and their country.

AL-DUSTUR: Do you not think that the dictatorial regime stands behind many of the tragedies from which Syria suffers?

Al-Hafiz: He who betrays his country is not a dictator, because a dictator might be a nationalist. Franco was a dictator, Salazar was a dictator also, but when a person stabs his country, that is another matter.

I will mention a statement by an Israeli leader in which he says, "In 30 years we have not been able to slaughter as many Palestinians as Asad has slaughtered in two weeks." He slaughtered Palestinians at Tall al-Za'tar, Nahr al-Barid and Tripoli, stirred them up against each other, gave arms to still others and joined with Israel in blockading them.

AL-DUSTUR: You were at the head of the government in Syria. Did he have contacts with the Israelis as is said in YEDI'OT AHARONOT?

Al-Hafiz: If I had known that, I would have cut off his head, but his behavior with respect to the Arabs and the Iraqis in particular indicates that he is carrying out plans drawn up for him by Zionists and imperialists and their allies in the region. If my opinion had been asked in the matter of sending the Iraqi army to save Hafiz al-Asad in Syria in 1973, I would have been against it because he was betraying that army. Nevertheless, the Iraqis were full of Arab pride, and they fought and



were martyred in order to prevent the Israelis from entering Damascus in the battle that occurred at Tall Abu al-Nada, and he stabbed them in the back. I do not blame Khomeyni because he is an enemy. But what do you call an Arab ruler who supplies Iran with money, arms and expertise against Iraq, when the most appropriate thing would be to remain neutral, if he did not want to apply the joint Arab defense treaty at least?

AL-DUSTUR: What do you think of the Iran-Syria axis?

Al-Hafiz: The arbs are now stumbling about in the quagmire, but the heroism of the Iraqi people and their army has foiled the conspiracy. God has sent to this people a man like Saddam Husayn, an excellent model of wisdom, leadership, evenness of intellect, depth of planning, loyalty and courage.

Iraq's success in resisting the Iranian aggression will doubtless thwart the plan to divide the region into little states. But if the Arabs continue in this quagmire, you should not be surprised at anything in a bad time. The Indian journalist Kranjiya noted this plan in his hook, "The Dagger of Israel," having gotten his information from President 'Abd al-Nasir. Iraq's resistance and victory will guarantee the failure of the plan.

The relationship between the Syrian regime and the Iranian regime is one of factionalism, opportunism and betrayal. The Ba'th is guiltless, just as Hafiz al-Asad conspired against Iraq strategically, not tactically. Iraq represents the true Ba'th, and it has fought for 5 years for its honor and that of the Arabs. Meanwhile, Hafiz al-Asad has done the opposite, and conspired against Iraq and Palestine and the other Arab countries. The difference between Saddam Hysayn and Hafiz al-Asad is that between light and darkness--dignity, honor and pride versus con-ning, baseness and cowardice.

When he gets weak and his situation gets critical, he quickly makes contact with Baghdad, and his contact with Iraq in 1978 was on this basis. The fox put on the garb of the righteous and maneuvered in order to conspire against the revolution in Iraq.

He does not like outstanding leaders like Saddam Hysayn, because Saddam Husayn is a hero. I am not adding anything or evaluating the man because history is the one that evaluate him. I met with him in Dayr al-Zur when he and his troops opened fire on the dictator Qasim, and he came to us in Syria. And once we had lunch together in Egypt...I went to him and he came to me.... I knew Saddam to be a hero, one of history's outstanding men. He struggled and sacrificed and built the party after going through disasters, and he was able to build a modern developed country.

AL-DUSTUR: When did you meet President Saddam Husayn for the first time?

Al-Hafiz: I had known about him for a while, and I knew about how he had fled to Syria. When he went to Cairo and stayed there for a while, security men searched his house in Cairo, and he felt alarmed at this behavior, since he was working for the party. He said something that I felt at the time was much older than his age, for he was just a young man.

He said to me while I was having lunch with him in Cairo, "Tell President 'Abd al-Nasir that we are fighters, not mercenaries, and our house is not to be searched. If he does not forbid his people from searching us, then I prefer execution at the hands of 'Abd al-Karim Qasim to remaining in Egypt under these circumstances.

AL-DUSTUR: What comments do you have on Hafiz al-Asad's last referendum, in which he got 99.9 percent of the votes and what is your commentary on the decision to pardon some politicians in Syria?

Al-Hafiz: He is duping himself and lying to God and to himself. If Hafiz al-Asad were nominated for membership in the house of deputies under normal conditions, he could not possibly win a seat because the Syrians know him well.

I would like to mention a joke from the days of Adib Shishakli, when he was with us in Aleppo. There was a chief of police who falsified the election in favor of Shishakli, so he called up the chief of police and said to him: "What are the results of the election?" He replied, "Sir, there are a couple of boxes whose results haven't been counted yet, but up to this point, the results are 110 percent." He said to him, "God give you misery, you have insulted us." Hafiz al-Asad knows, and the people know, and the Syrian army knows that one cannot hope for anything from someone who sentences his party's leadership to death. As for those in the 'Adnan 'Aql group whom he pardoned, his relationship with them is well known.

AL-DUSTUR: How do you explain the silence in the face of the Gulf war?

Al-Hafiz: The Arabs are in a quagmire now. There is fighting in the westernmost part of the Arab world, in Morocco and Algeria. There is Libya and the roles it has been playing and then Sudan, and everything that is happening there.

The Egypt of Husni Mubarak is not the Egypt of al-Sadat, but it is still shackled by Camp David. Egypt takes the position of a spectator as Iraq conducts its war against Iranian aggression. King Husayn took the role of spectator in the Iraq-Iran war, for which he is grateful.

Right remains weak if it is not supported by force, because force gives form and value to right. Iraq has not said, "Arabs, save me," but rather has fought with honor. But if all the Arabs had had a different position, the war would not have gone on, and Khomeyni would not have been able to isolate Iraq and through it fight all the Arabs. Iraq has become the armor defending all the Arabs.

The Arab poet says, "If they ask for help, they do not ask those who have called them in what war and in what place."

There is an international conspiracy against Iraq and against the leadership of the Iraqi people as personified by the singular leader Saddam Husayn, and against the cultural renaissance that Iraq has witnessed.

AL-DUSTUR: How do you explain the position of Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi?

Al-Hafiz: Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi is a capricious man, assuming that there are no foreign influences motivating him. Today he is with you and tomorrow he is against you.

In my estimation, the reason why Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi supports Hafiz al-Asad is that he is involved with him in a certain plan. Mu'ammār has stirred everybody up and then restrained them with declarations. When the Israeli aggression against Beirut occurred, he appealed to the Palestinian fighters to commit suicide. Qadhafi also played a role in the fragmentation of the PLO under the leadership of Yasir 'Arafat, who defended the Palestinian presence, wiped some of the disgrace from the forehead of the Arabs and defeated Hafiz al-Asad's conspiracy to turn the PLO into his pawn.

I have a reproach to make against the Palestinian brothers who are called "dissidents." I would say that George Habash used very strong language in referring to Hafiz al-Asad on the day of Tall al-Za'tar, and there is no word in the dictionary of treachery that he did not hurl at him. So what happened? How could Habash abandon Yasir 'Arafat, the fighter, and join ranks with the man he described as a traitor?

I reproach George Habash and call on him to reconsider his position. Otherwise, he is placing treachery before honor and dignity. At the same time, I think highly of Hawatimah's position with regard to Abu 'Ammar may have committed an error, but it is not right that we should respond to error with this severity.

By God, if Syria had a nationalist government, you would find half a million soldiers fighting with Iraq against the Iranian aggression. We are not against Persia, but we do not accept aggression and interference by foreigners in our affairs. I call for an honorable peace, in which each can take the right that is his due.

But there is no right without power behind it. Khomeyni's failure to comply is not an error, but rather a crime according to Islam.

Khomeyni should be courageous and true Muslim, and should spare the blood of Muslims, for Islam is not a religion of killing.

I say to the Arabs that if Baghdad's security weakens, then Rabat's security is shaken. Baghdad is now the Arab security belt against aggression and Zionist and Persian expansionism.

5 June 1985

## YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

## BUSINESS, ECONOMIC CLIMATE DISCUSSED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 6-12 Apr 85 p 37

[Text] Mr Zayd Muhammad Zayd, general director of the Union of Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Yemen explained that the 62nd session of the Union of Chambers, which met recently in Sana', took on a new dimension with issuance of a regulation of the republic concerning a new investment law for the Yemen Arab Republic designed to attract foreign capital. In a private explanation to AL-TADAMUN he explained that the session was among the most successful of the Union's sessions, and that in connection with it a large number of meetings between Arab investors and Yemeni businessmen took place.

Mr Zayd pointed out that the meeting called for participation of Arab businessmen in joint development projects in Yemen. He explained this call as traceable to the wise economic policy by whose light the Yemen Arab Republic walks, which has caused much Arab capital to be turned toward investment in Yemen, due to the advantageous return and the large number of benefits and advantages to be found there.

## Relative Retrenchment

Concerning the resolutions of the 62nd session, Mr Zayd said that the session thought, in its resolutions, that the Arab countries now stand at the threshold of a new stage, in which will appear relative retrenchment or stasis of economic growth rates. However, a number of economic achievements have been realized during the recent decade, a fact which will reduce the consequence of this. Production capabilities in the Arab countries generally have witnessed great economic expansion, centered on a number of areas, the most important of which are oil refining, liquification of gas, petrochemicals, fertilizer of various types and metals, particularly iron, steel and aluminum, though the Arab countries are not able to accompany this industrial expansion with related expansion in food and agricultural production.

Mr Zayd continued that complete utilization of available productive capacity is necessary in those industries which work to create basic industries and allied industries in order to achieve a degree of industrial

integration. Likewise, since an increase of food production is a strategic goal, work must proceed to reach this goal in the shortest time possible. Also, work must proceed to build a developed, broad technological base in the Arab countries, realizing that the tasks of maintaining and replacing the available productive capacities will in a short time form a hemorrhage of Arab resources.

Concerning the world economy, Mr Zayd spoke about the session of the general Union of Chambers of Commerce belief that the Arab countries face challenges which have begun to appear recently, especially in the area of petrochemicals. The session passed a number of resolutions pertaining to the future of the council and the U. S. creation of a free trade zone between the U. S. and Israel. The session saw a need to oppose this project with a firm and unified Arab position, regulations to apply the Arab boycott laws, and alertness to the appearance of commodities from various nations through whom Israel can enter the Arab markets.

Moreover, it was decided to stage an Arab trade exhibit in the Federal Republic of Germany, and an agricultural conference in the German Democratic Republic. It was decided to hold the sixth meeting of the board of directors of the Arab-Soviet Chamber of Commerce in Damascus during December of this year, and a number of decisions were made concerning contacts of the Union with chambers of commerce around the world.

12780

CSO: 4404/310

AFGHANISTAN

AFGHAN OFFICIALS KILLED BY MUJAHIDIN

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 30 Apr 85 p 1

[Text]

**NEW DELHI, April 29 (IRNA) —** Seven officials of the Soviet-backed regime in Afghanistan were killed in an attack against a security post in Kabul by the Mujahideen, sources disclosed here.

Afghan Mujahideen also downed two modern helicopters in the Salang pass region. The copters were on their way from the Soviet Union to Kabul.

The attacks were carried out on the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the April 27 Soviet-backed coup.

Meanwhile sources also said that two Afghan air force fighter planes crashed during an exercise over Kabul. The planes were to attend the April 27 parade. One pilot was killed.

**Khad Agents Infiltrate Refugee Camp**

Meanwhile reports from Islamabad (Pakistan) said an Afghan refugee and six

Afghan secret service agents were killed Saturday when the agents infiltrated a refugee camp south of Peshawar and blew up an ammunition dump.

The reports said the agents of the Afghan secret service, Khad also killed a guard to gain access to the Mattani refugee camp, 35 kilometers (21 miles) south of Peshawar, where about 5,000 Afghan refugees are living.

Official sources Sunday said one person was killed in a clash among Afghan refugees, but the sources did not disclose the location of the incident.

The road near the camp was closed for four hours Saturday. Reporters in Peshawar, 100 miles (173 km) northwest of Islamabad, who tried to reach the camp were turned back by police, who cordoned off the area.

CSO: 4600/442

INDIA

INDIAN EXPRESS COMMENTS ON GANDHI'S ECONOMIC PROGRAM

BK241639 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English 18 Apr 85 p 6

[Editorial: "Non-Reaganomic Rajiv"]

[Text] Mr Rajiv Gandhi made it clear at the Delhi round-table on India organised by the European Market Foundation that he was not "Rajiv Reagan," as the WALL STREET JOURNAL has sought to label him. He stressed that the public sector was the "core of India's industrial development," a very non-Reaganomic statement, and defended the poor performance of some public sector units on the ground that they were forced to go to backward areas lacking infrastructure. He added that India was a mixed economy and the government placed a high value on the entrepreneur, especially the small one. This is why it had reformed income-tax and corporate tax, and liberalised industrial licensing. The country sought self-reliance, but this did not mean autarky. India needed to interact with the world, and realised that too much protection was bad for its industries. It needed foreign assistance for improving its technology, quality, and efficiency. At this stage of development it would be unfair to open all Indian industries to free competition from imports. But some areas like electronics and computers were being opened up to foreign competition. He observed that foreign investment was strictly regulated, but that once an investment proposal was cleared there was no further restriction. He held out no new-bait to foreign investors, but merely noted that India offered a huge market of 750 million people, skilled manpower, a wide industrial base and political stability. This economic approach is far removed from Reaganomics. It constitutes no more than a slight acceleration of the creeping liberalisation initiated seven or eight years ago. The advantage of a steady creep as opposed to radical change is that it has given industries time to adjust and minimise disruption.

He listed population growth as India's biggest single problem, as it diluted all economic achievements and placed poverty removal as the number two problem. Anti-poverty programmes were designed to lift people to an income level where they could take off as self-employed entrepreneurs. He failed to mention the many leakages which dog such programmes, and exaggerated their

real impact. But it was useful to drive home to the foreign audience that India's top priorities are not free markets and multinational investment but population and poverty. Opening up the economy is certainly part of Mr Gandhi's economic programme but not the dominant part. The major stress is on agriculture, rural development and population control, all of which will help alleviate poverty.

CSO: 4600/1559



IRAN

MONTAZERI: SECRET OF LEBANESE MUSLIMS' 'UNITY OF PLEDGE'

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 17 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] Tehran, IRNA. Hojjat ol-Eslams Bojnurdi, a member of the Supreme Judicial Council; Haj Sheykh Hasan Sane'i, from the 15 Khordad foundation; Qara'ati, the representative of the imam and director of the literacy movement; and Rahmani, head of the mobilization for the oppressed; as well as the representatives of Bu'in Zahra, Semirom Borazjan, Ramhormoz, Shadegan, Kalachay, Pabdana of Kerman, and Fereydun Kenar; and the eulogistic society of Qom met and spoke separately last week with Grand Ayatollah Montazeri.

In a meeting with Bojnurdi, he referred to the problem of the shortage of committed and informed judges and said: It is appropriate to prepare a proposal for the judicial branch of the country to make use of ruling magistrates, which has been anticipated in Islam, and in places where there are insufficient Shar' magistrates, ruling magistrates can be used.

Also, in a meeting with Mr Rahmani, the head of the mobilization for the oppressed, he praised the role of the army, the Guards Corps and the gendarmerie in the continuation of the war and pointed out: We all know that the main burden of the war is on the shoulders of the combative mobilization brothers. Of course, the self-sacrifice of the forces of the army and the Guards Corps is praiseworthy in every respect by our nation, but in many places, it is the self-sacrifice of the great people's forces of the mobilization that has solved many problems for our combatants and opened the way for their advancement. God will grant these dear ones rewards in keeping with their status and dignity.

He emphasized: It is expected of the concerned officials that they praise more than ever before this people's force which accomplishes the greatest tasks on the front with the fewest expectations and that they make full efforts to eliminate their various problems.

Also in this meeting, he placed 8 million rials at the disposal of Mr Rahmani for the needs of the mobilization combatants.

According to this report, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hemmati, the representative of Grand Ayatollah Montazeri at the university of martyr Chamran in Ahvaz, accompanied by the president and the deans of several colleges as well as the officials of the university crusade and members of the Islamic society of this university, met with him in the course of the past week.

In this meeting, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri referred to the importance of the scientific dimension and the cultural richness of the university as well as its role in achieving total independence in economic and military affairs and emphasized: While our country has not grown sufficiently scientifically, all of our slogans are almost empty and the needs of our country will remain as before.

He pointed out: Of course, scientific growth must be accomplished with spiritual growth and strengthening religious culture in the universities, otherwise, scientific growth by itself will be harmful.

He added: One of the goals of my sending a representative to the universities is to implement the slogan of the unity of the universities and theological centers, which has been our wish for a long time.

But we must note that this great goal will be possible not through slogans and holding seminars or congresses alone. What is important is scientific and intellectual unity and intellectual relations between the theological centers and the universities, which must be implemented. It is necessary to make arrangements for the subjects that are studied in the universities and which concern the society in its various aspects, including the economy, law and the like, to also be taught in the theological centers and for attention to be paid to them by the religious scholars and learned people. On the other hand, in the universities, Islamic sciences and religious knowledge must be discussed sufficiently and taught in an official form and in the daily language of the committed scholars and learned people. This requires more than intellectual cooperation between the universities and the theological centers. In my opinion, in the theological centers, we must make use of the university professors and in the universities, of the religious scholars, in order to create political and intellectual unity between the theological centers and universities in practice.

Concerning the necessity of dealing correctly with college and other students, he pointed out: The future hope of the

revolution and the country lies with the literate stratum. Enemies have made investments to take away this beloved stratum from us and have unfortunately trapped many of our young people in deviation. Therefore, our behavior must be quite constructive and appealing. If our young people are sensitive to political issues, we must welcome them, encourage them, and give them a chance to speak.

He added: I have heard that it has been said in some places that the young people must be made indifferent to political issues. This is totally wrong and will be 100 percent in the interest of the enemies of Islam and the revolution.

According to this report, on his return from Lebanon last week, Hojjat ol-Eslam Khaliq also met with Grand Ayatollah Montazeri and presented to him a report on the establishment of the theological center and the latest situation with regard to the progress of the Islamic movement in Lebanon.

In this meeting, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri praised the resistance of the Muslims of Lebanon against the foreign occupiers and said: The main secret of the present success and progress of the Lebanese Muslims is their preservation of the unity of the word and their power of faith and self-sacrifice. According to reports, a conspiracy is underway by the Zionists and their domestic mercenaries in Lebanon to raise the Sunni-Shi'ite issue and disunite the Muslims' opposition to the Israeli aggressors. All the Muslim tribes, and especially the Islamic scholars, prominent people and the young people in the region, must pay attention to the depth of this Israeli conspiracy, preserve and strengthen their unity, and be fully watchful of the Satanic provocations of the Israeli and U.S. mercenaries.

10,000

CSO: 4640/531

IRAN

MAJLIS REPRESENTATIVES EXPRESS VIEWS IN OPEN SESSION

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 18 Apr 85 p 2

[Excerpts] The Majlis held its first open session for the period 21 March 1985-20 March 1986, presided over by Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani. The first speaker was Mr Hasan Ja'fari, the representative of the city of Babak, who said: This podium today is at the disposal of you honorable representatives and the successors to the late Modarres and the late Kashani, under the difficult conditions of war, in which the treasonous Saddam is bombarding the innocent and defenseless people of our country from land and air in order to be able to tarnish the iron will of our beloved nation. Emphasizing the continuation of the war to ultimate victory, he referred to the recent coup d'etat in the Sudan and called for the alertness of the Muslim people of the Sudan in this area. In concluding his statements, the representative of the people of Babak enumerated the needs of his constituency.

Because it is a depressed area, the city of Babak was a place of exile for the regime of the tyrant. And in the regime of the Islamic Republic, because it is a depressed area, it has been divided--part of it having been allocated to Rafsanjan and another part to Yazd. It is a city whose agriculture is being destroyed and whose animal husbandry has already been destroyed. The little underground water that it has has been spend on the great Sarcheshmeh copper factory. Hence, the underground water systems have dried up. No one is thinking about these people. The only word which is generally on the tongues of the officials of this city is the word "prohibited." The use of underground water is prohibited in most places. Establishing such projects as production units, poultry farms or cattle ranches is prohibited. People have consented to create small, light factories, but the officials have announced that it is prohibited. The only element which has not been declared prohibited is air. In conclusion, he called the attention of the Ministries of Industries, Energy and Agriculture to the reminders of the representatives and said: It is hoped that the officials, by eliminating the restrictions on water and soil and the

creation of light and semi-heavy job-creating factories, will make strides to eliminate the problems of the region.

Mr Manuchehr Nikruz, the representative of the Jewish minority, was the next speaker. Offering Passover greetings to the Iranian Jews, he expressed his hopes for increased unity with the Muslim compatriots and said: The Iranian Jews have always been and still are an inseparable part of the Iranian nation. They have cooperated with their compatriots in various kinds of services and are partners. They share in the sorrows and joys of this great nation. Among them they have offered martyrs in bringing the revolution to fruition and in victory over the aggressive Saddam supporters. He added: One of the characteristics of the Islamic revolution of Iran is its independence from the superpowers and other powers and standing against their threats. What is certain is that in the present world, independence and standing on one's own feet is fraught with problems. Fortunately, alertness and the revolutionary patience of the heroic nation of Iran eliminates the problems one after another. Pointing out the love of the Iranian Jews for their homeland and their avoidance of deviant ideas, the speaker said: We have always considered and still consider Iran our homeland and strongly condemn any wrong or deviant thought that intends to influence Iranian Jews and make them dependent on foreign currents and various "isms." Rejecting the propaganda lies concerning pressure on the religious minorities in Iran, he said: Despite the propaganda of the imperialist loudspeakers and their agents, who try to convince the world that religious minorities in Iran are in a predicament, as the representative of Iranian Jews, I declare from the official loudspeaker of the Majlis that, fortunately, the Islamic Republic has been generous to the religious minorities, including the Jews. Whenever a problem has been created, we have been able to overcome it through good intentions and understanding. In conclusion, condemning the attacks of the Ba'thist regime on the residential areas of our country, he considered these actions the result of the defeat of Saddam on the war fronts and asked all his fellow religious followers to pray for a long life for the imam and the victory of the Iranian combatants during the Passover holidays.

Mr Akbar Hamidzadeh, the representative of the people of Bu'in Zahra and Avojj, was the third pre-agenda speaker yesterday. He said in a speech: As usual, the most important, essential issue is the issue of war, which is today at its most sensitive situation. What must be noted by Islamic Iran and the brave children of the Islamic revolution more than anything else is the active presence of the people on the scene. What has stunned the world today is the presence of the people on the scene. The issue of war must be taken more seriously today than in the past, especially since there is a great distance between the escalation of the war and the desperate Zionist actions of Saddam behind the

scene. However, today, with these heinous, demonic actions, let the whole Iranian nation realize that there is a war in the country and, in keeping with a calculated war policy, let all the conspiracies and heinous counterrevolutionary movements be prevented.

I thank and praise the brave Muslim people of Iran who actively participate in the strongholds of Friday prayers and are considered the mainstay of the revolution. Referring to the recent visit of the UN secretary general to our country, he pointed out: Do not compare our country and people with other cultures. Know that Islamic Iran has brought the revolution to victory with a martyr-nurturing culture on the basis of the rich ideology of Islam; it will advance it towards perfection and will not accept an imposed peace.

Referring to the struggles of the Muslim people of the Sudan, the coup d'etat in that country, and the overthrow of Gaafar Nimeiri, the speaker considered this a continuing trend in the overthrow of tyrants and pointed out that yesterday, the shah and Anwar Sadat went, today Gaafar Nimeiri, and tomorrow will be Saddam's turn.

He expressed hope that the new government of the Sudan will submit to the wishes of the Muslim people of that country. At the end of his speech, the representative of Bu'in Zahra and Avoij asked that the speaker of the Majlis and the president stop the opportunistic actions of some individuals.

He described the movement to become free of a single product economy and lack of dependence on petroleum products as a safeguard for the health of the revolution, thanked all the brothers who were actively present in the Badr operations, and expressed his congratulations and condolences to the families of the martyrs of these operations.

Mr Abolqasem Ramhormoz was the last pre-agenda speaker. He pointed out that the attacks of the Iraqi regime on the Islamic Republic of Iran have taken place within the framework of protecting the interests of the United States and Israel. He referred to the attacks of the Saddam supporters on the residential areas of our country. Praising the spirit of the Muslim people of our country, he described the missile attacks of the Saddam supporters on Ramhormoz. He said: The people in the cities and villages all speak of war to victory with a strong spirit and shout, Missiles in retaliation for missiles. They emphasize that retaliation must certainly be made.

In conclusion, the representative of the people of Ramhormoz emphasized the continuation of war until the region is free of the Ba'thists of Iraq and praised and thanked the families of the martyrs of the missile attacks on Ramhormoz.

IRAN

COOPERATIVES EXAMINED IN ISLAMIC REPUBLIC'S ECONOMY

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 22 Apr 85 p 17

[Excerpts] Economic Service—The seminar to study the cooperative sector in the Islamic republic's economy began its work yesterday afternoon at the Hall of Unity with a talk by Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili.

KEYHAN's economic reporter reports that Hojjat ol-Eslam Fazel Herandi, Majlis representative and seminar organizer, began with a talk on the goals and issues having to do with the seminar's formation.

He said: The most expressive doctrine for answering the needs of mankind is the doctrine of Islam. A new issue which has captured the attention of human societies, especially in the capitalist and socialist worlds, is cooperatives. Therefore, we cannot suppose that Islam has been silent on this, answering neither positively nor negatively.

He added: The Constitution of the Islamic republic has given the government a series of duties, responsibilities, and obligations, and, in my view, if the government wants to fulfill these responsibilities and duties, one of the best ways is through cooperatives.

It is sometimes said, however, that because cooperatives have their origin in the communist countries, or because they spring from the capitalist world, or because there is nothing about cooperatives in theology books, one ought not to talk about cooperatives.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Fazel Herandi added: In any case, the brothers who have studied cooperatives for three or four months will present their findings at this seminar, so we can draw the necessary conclusions at the end of the seminar after hearing their views and resolving any deficiencies or doubts.

In conclusion he said: This is not the first seminar on cooperatives, of course; the first such seminar was held in 1359 [21 March 1980 – 20 March 1981] at the Cooperative College through the efforts of the great martyr Dr Beheshti. Therefore, with the brethren's permission, I will name today's seminar after this dear martyr.

## Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili's Speech

The Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili gave a talk. He said: The cooperative economic system is a special system in contrast with the other sectors. It exists as a solution, in order to make better use of God-given resources, manpower, and so forth, and to earn the greatest return on work done with the least possible investment.

Some countries have reached the stage where this has become so important that they have become known as socialist countries. At the beginning of the triumph of the Islamic revolution we had a lot of intellectual wealth that was later taken from us by treachery, and in the years 1358 [21 March 1979 – 20 March 1980] and 1359 [21 March 1980 – 20 March 1981], these intellectuals made efforts that we must be proud of.

When the Assembly of Experts was formed to write the Constitution, they established three sectors, one of which was the cooperative sector, and they wrote seven or eight articles about it.

Unfortunately, our enemies did not give us the opportunity to make efforts to pursue the matter quickly. One of these problems was the imposed war, because our manpower and capital were mobilized to solve these problems.

### Cooperatives in Theology

Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili then added: In discussing cooperatives with the brothers, we found their view to be that if there were any problem with cooperatives from the point of view of theology or religious law, it would have been mentioned. Neither do I think that there is any problem or objection, because if there were it would have been discussed by the Assembly of Experts when the Constitution was written.

We know that cooperatives have appeared in Israel which for us are not correct in terms of religious law; they exist in forms in other countries which we consider absolutely inimical to Islam.

The objection that there is no book about cooperatives in Islam, despite all the books we have, is improper, however. We might just as well object that there are no books about the Supreme Court, the presidency, or the Majlis.

He added: We must discuss this scientifically, to determine if cooperatives place the government sector in opposition to the private sector or not. We must not be prejudiced; the worst prejudice is prejudice in academic and economic affairs, matters that must be weighed scientifically, in terms of the issues upon which a country's life and economy depend.

Among economists there are the "classicists," who believe that the government must not introduce the slightest interference, supervision, control, or support into the economy, because the economy is a free being.

The European liberals say that there are various laws that guide the economy, that the economy must be left to itself, and that government intervention in imports, exports and so forth is corruptive.



Those with scientific training may come and draw these conclusions inductively, studying countries where free economies are in practical operation and have been experienced. We are not interested in this theory or that theory, or whether cooperatives were first established by people in favor of government intervention or opposed to it, and whether or not we should remove those people; this is wrong.

Continuing his remarks, he added: Dear brothers, just as you know, before the revolution we had an economy suitable for an imperialist society, and against the interest of the oppressed. This cannot be denied. Even the laws in this country were taken from the laws of landowners and renters, so that the land laws, ownership laws, bank registration and profits, and so forth were all designed to oppose the interest of the oppressed. Even the labor laws were against labor and for management.

We are now in an Islamic age, in an economic situation in which it is not the wish of our society and we are unable to implement the law of that time.

If we consider a country's national wealth its natural resources, we are a wealthy country; if we consider them to be its water, land, and manpower resources, again we are a wealthy country. We wish not to revive these dead lands, then raise their level of utilization; we have an ocean we wish to use.

We would consider it robbery to have our oil taken away, yet we have so much visible and invisible unemployed manpower, we have agricultural and industrial centers, we must study and determine the appropriate places for agricultural and industrial investment, but they say that this is government intervention. Or if we want to intervene in imports and exports, they say no, this is wrong. Or they say there ought not to be cooperatives at all. Scientific matters must not be approached in this way. When we study to see whether this conflicts with a theological point or law, and when we hesitate, uncertain if it is scientifically useful or not, we must turn the matter over to reliable scholars for study.

The Chief of the Supreme Court added: I therefore recommend and call upon you who have begun this blessed seminar to make a scientific and precise study of these forces of ours which are going to waste and of the fact that our fundamental resources and lands are not being used. Let this be your goal, because if we say it is a government affair, it may be wrong, or if we say it pertains to the private sector, it may also be wrong. Or if you say the whole country should be cooperative, this is also wrong, because the private sector has made a place for itself. The private sector, the public sector, and the cooperative sector all have their place, and there is no problem legally.

#### Report on the First Conference

According to KEYHAN's correspondent the seminar's first conference then began, attended by Hojjat ol-Eslam Fazel Herandi, Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed Hadi Khamene'i, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hoseyni Shahrudi, 'Abdi Ja'fari, Minister of Commerce, and Dr Ansari, Professor at the Cooperative College.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Fazel Herandi began by saying: During these four days, four issues will be discussed. Of course we do not claim that all aspects of cooperatives will be studied; during the conferences of these four days we will discuss and study the views of our brothers.

He added: The subject of discussion today is the goals and principles of cooperatives in the Constitution and the government of the Islamic republic.

One of the reasons for forming cooperatives is that the Constitution has warned us to be wary of two things; wherever the economy tends in the direction of one of them, it orders that it be stopped. These two things are anarchy and total government control. Cooperatives in an economic system form a condition that lies between a system that is one-hundred percent private leading to anarchy and one that is moving toward total government control.

#### Cooperatives and Islam

The second speaker was Hojjat ol-Eslam Hoseyni Shahrudi, who studied various aspects of cooperatives and said:

After the writing of the Constitution, cooperatives became more powerful, but they have not yet developed a good and specific image.

If we want to view cooperatives as one of the binding principles of Islam in theology books, this is a mistaken idea. If we say that cooperatives are not Islamic because the theologians have not discussed them, this is also erroneous.

Cooperatives are a phenomenon which has come to exist in society and has come to be accepted throughout the world. The important thing is that we must not consider the the cooperatives here the same as the ones in the East and the West. We need a cooperative system in our economy. If our economy were a simple one, there would be no need to establish a cooperative system, but when faced with mass production, we must accept cooperatives, and in this situation we have no choice but to accept cooperatives as Islamic.

#### The Roles of the Cooperative and Private Sectors

The third speaker of the conference, Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed Hadi Khamene'i, discussed the concepts of the government and private sectors and their roles in the cooperative sector and an Islamic economy. He said:

The private sector is not beyond government supervision, but the the cooperative sector in the economy will be more idealistic, that is, it will be able to accommodate and give form to a higher and greater share of Islamic goals, ideas, ideals, and aspirations.

They may ask, although cooperatives are something used regularly in the East and West, what cooperatives does Islam have? We may answer that just as in all economic sectors and aspects of life, here too attention is directed always to patterns, role models, goals and ideas, and answers are given on that basis.

He added: The establishment of shared ownership and justice is a general idea and goal which is propounded in cooperatives, just as elsewhere. What does justice mean here? Among all its meanings employed by experts, for us the devaluation of the creation of capital and the reassignment of value to labor and manpower is one indication of the creation of justice in our economic sector, and this is found in cooperatives.

The matter of equality, not, of course, from an engineering point of view, but rather in the sense that everyone must have equal resources, is what we are talking about. Of course, after being provided with equal resources, it is up to them to strive and make efforts, and their earnings will correspond to the amount of effort they make.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed Hadi Khamene'i added: The cooperative sector is a proper Islamic answer to these matters, because in cooperatives these goals are fully met, while anarchy, excesses, and injustice are prevented.

Actually, in order not to become entangled, like the communists, with plans such as the FP plan, it would be well for us to make preparations from the beginning for public cooperation, at the same time preserving all Islamic ideas and objectives.

In any case, the existence of a cooperative sector in the economic system of the Islamic republic can provide a wide open field for those who wish to manifest their talents, to bring about self-sufficiency, to establish independence and freedom, and to prevent human values from being destroyed and improper relations from arising between labor and management.

Will the existence of the cooperative sector interfere with the private sector? Absolutely not.

My view is that the two sectors existing side-by-side can be constructive, and the government is of course obligated to give its utmost support constantly for establishing the best method and system.

'Abdi Ja'fari, Minister of Commerce, said: It must be added that cooperatives are not being discussed merely for the sake of the economy, but also for political, social, and other reasons. Economic cooperatives are a part of a general cooperative system.

Of course the details of the matter and its form and shape are something that professors have studied and discussed, but the difference with the above method is that all schools of thought are striving for economic justice in society. In an ideology that pursues capitalism, profit is the basis for human activity.

In the other sector, the economic system of the East, government dominance and control of everything is in operation, and there individual motivation is killed and disappears.

The Minister of Commerce added: The sector that combines labor and capital is the cooperative, with the difference that the profit motive is not used, but rather the desire to serve. After the Islamic revolution, in view of the fact that we are confronted with a great many cooperatives, we see that the people's motivation has gone even higher than this, and they are talking about giving everything of themselves.

Giving control to human beings is therefore one of the outstanding characteristics of cooperatives.

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IRAN

**MONTAZERI: ULEMA MUST PREVENT FACTIONALISM IN LEBANON**

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 21 Apr 85 p 17

[Text] Qom - Hojjat ol-Eslam Sheikh Mehdi Shams ol-Din, Speaker of the Lebanese Shi'ite Majlis, Nuri Shahrudi, the Imam's representative in one of the Persian Gulf countries, Marvi, chief of the first branch of the Judiciary Police Court, Ehsanbakhsh, the Imam's representative and Friday Imam of Rasht, Mirsalim, Supreme Counsel to the President, the Friday Imams of Zanjan, Bushehr, Ramhormoz, Karaj, Babolsar, Mobarakeh, Khorramshahr, Qahdriyan, Daran, Gharqabad and Saveh, as well as the bereaved children and relatives of the late Hojjat ol-Eslam Haj Sheikh 'Abbas'ali Eslami, one of Tehran's committed preachers, met and spoke separately with Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri.

During the meeting with the speaker of the Lebanese Shi'ite Majlis, new efforts by Zionist elements and American mercenaries in Lebanon to damage the Islamic movement in that area by creating pessimism and sensitivity among Muslim groups in that area were discussed. Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri pointed out the depth of these Israeli plots and their negative effects in the area. He stressed again that the only hope for America, the infidel front, and Israel under the current circumstances with the Islamic movement is to foment discord and factional and religious conflict in that country. The ulema of Islam in Lebanon are expected to thwart such American plots with awareness, insight, and decisiveness, and not to allow residual Zionist and mercenary elements in the area to damage the growth and progress of the oppressed country of Lebanon's Islamic movement.

During this week, Hojjat ol-Eslam Rahmani, supervisor of the mobilization of the oppressed, along with thousands of officials and members of the mobilization's Asameh project, who are being trained for urban protection and procurement behind the lines, met with him. During this meeting, Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri discussed the importance of the mobilization, and compared its methods with the methods of the Prophet of Islam in defending the Koran and the Islamic nation in the first days of Islam. He said: The work these gentlemen are doing is not something new that is now being practiced; it is the same method used by the Prophet of Islam (Peace be Upon Him) at the dawn of Islam to defend Islam and the Koran. The Glorious Koran strongly emphasizes that Muslims must be strong in every respect, and be prepared to defend Islam and the Islamic nation under any circumstances that arise. It was on this principle that the great Prophet of Islam insisted on the training of the people in national defense and war matters, especially in time of war and enemy attack, to the point that during the wars which occurred in the time of the Prophet himself, that great man precisely and completely observed military principles and the secrets of warfare, and he emphatically ordered others to practice military and combat principles at all times, and never to underestimate the enemy and his various tricks. In the same connection, Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri addressed the brave combatants of Islam,

praising their sacrifice and wholeheartedness. He said: Although you dear ones of our nation have the spirit of sacrifice and wholeheartedness and are ready to martyr yourselves, and this must truly be praised, at the same time this great spirit must not cause the principle of war, its technology, and the necessary training war and intelligence of the enemy's characteristics at the fronts to be neglected.

You realize that the most respected Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him), even with his deep relationship with Almighty God, never relied solely on prayer and devotion in wars. From the beginning he gave the necessary training on military and combat matters, and then he asked Almighty God for victory for the army of Islam. According to the same report, last week Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri was given gifts by the Friday imams of various areas to help at the imposed war fronts and to strengthen the combatants of Islam. They included 1.5 million rials from the residents of Khorrameh, one million rials and a quantity of gold from the residents of Mobarakeh and vicinity, one million rials from the residents of Gharqabad of Saveh, and 500,000 rials and a quantity of gold from the residents of Daran and vicinity.

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5 June 1985

## IRAN

## HASHEMI RAFSANJANI URGES DELIVERING KORDESTAN FROM CONSPIRACY

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 22 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] KEYHAN Political Service—The people of Kordestan are truly oppressed, because now that there has been a revolution they ought to be enjoying its fruits, and receiving compensation for the oppression of the Shah's time, but these mini-groups are preventing service from being given to these people, and keeping the area insecure.

The above remarks were made yesterday afternoon by Hojjat ol-Eslam va-ol-Moslemin Hashemi Rafsanjani, Speaker of the Majlis, at a meeting with a group of revolutionary guards being sent to Kordestan to fight the counterrevolution. He also stressed the heavy responsibility of the combatants of Islam in the crusade against traitors at this sensitive front in the country.

Our Parliamentary correspondent reports that during this meeting Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi said during a speech: Primarily in order to visit with you and see you off, I turned the Majlis over to Mr Yazdi in order to enjoy the blessing of seeing off combatants. We pray that God will grant you success in accomplishing this heavy and heroic responsibility that you have chosen. Give my regards and those of all the Majlis deputies to the combatants, army personnel, revolutionary guards, members of the mobilization, gendarmerie personnel, sheriff's officers, and whoever is on the crusade.

The Imam's representative on the Supreme Defense Council discussed the importance of doing battle with the counterrevolution. He said: We know that one of the war's difficult tasks is in Kordestan, because there you are not clearly confronted with an outside aggressor, but rather with deluded people on the inside who are doing destructive things. You must know, however, that those opposing you in Kordestan are not only no better than the Iraqis, they are worse than them because they are traitors using the country's resources to do the same things the Iraqis do, but worse. They engage in covert activities and martyr intelligent and good people. The crimes they have committed in Kordestan in six years are unprecedented in the history of this country. Therefore, you must know that you are facing the worst enemy of Islam, and this will increase your reward. Continue on your way with peace of mind, with faith and belief in the mission that you have chosen, and with reliance on God. Liberate the people of Kordestan, who are living under mounting oppression, from these criminals, and treat the people well. The people of Kordestan are truly oppressed, because because now that there has been a revolution they ought to be enjoying its fruits, and receiving compensation for the oppression of the Shah's time, but these mini-groups are preventing service from being given to these people, and keeping the area insecure.

In conclusion, the Speaker of the Majlis addressed himself to those present. He said: Be patient, indulgent, and forgiving with the people, and deal as severely as possible with the traitors. You yourselves must be assured that you are fighting at the most sensitive fronts, which have the greatest strategic importance for this country. I ask God to bless the families of martyrs with patience and rewards, to grant a higher station in the hereafter to the souls of the martyrs, to grant victory to our combatants and more greatness to Islam.

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5 June 1985

## IRAN

## MUSAVI ADDRESSES CULTURAL, ECONOMIC, EDUCATIONAL CONCERNS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 24 Apr 85 pp 1, 2, 18

[Interview with Prime Minister Musavi by KEYHAN; date and place not specified]

[Text] We still hear the resonant voice of the oppressed martyr of the Islamic revolution, Dr Beheshti, who said, "We are fond of serving, not hungry for power." And still the passionate words of the true offspring of the revolution, martyr Raja'i, are deep in our hearts; he said, "Those who accept responsibility under these circumstances, what do they have besides love or madness?"

When we visited Engineer Musavi, we heard reflections of some of the same statements. Serving for three and a half years as the prime minister of a country which is standing in the midst of military, political, economic and cultural aggressions is not an easy task. The price he has paid for serving the high ideals of the revolution is not small. He has been a target of much opposition, ingratitude, slander and weakening, but he has been able to go through many hardships, blessed by the frequent support of the imam and the support and generosity of the nation, and to bring the government to a position of stability on the domestic and foreign scenes.

Now, the society needs an overall cultural, economic and social model. But, unfortunately, attention has not been paid to it as it should have been.

It must be admitted that there is a clear void of a devised and essential program which has stemmed from Islamic law.

It is hoped that the intellectual and cultural leaders of our revolutionary and Islamic society, despite the overall conspiracies and attacks of global oppression, counterrevolutionaries and foreign and domestic deviants, by giving priority to the ideals and values which have stemmed from the pure blood of martyrs and the cries of, God is great, that overthrew the palace of injustice, will engage in devising laws



and providing guidance with a lofty determination to increase the movement of the revolution, so that imperfections are eliminated and the glory of Islam perpetuates in the course of history in spite of its many enemies.

In this this connection, some of the current issues of the society on cultural and political areas probed us to speak once again with the prime minister and seek his views as the head of the government. He admitted us with sincerity and without ceremony and spoke for an hour about the issues, problems and gains of the cultural revolution; the situation of the universities; the social actions and reactions with regard to the symptoms of cultural decadence, improper veiling and the revitalization of the tyrannical culture; the reasons behind the weakness of the news system; the situation of the war; the examination of the political turns of the West; and the political and economic relations of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

What follows is the result of this explicit and truthful interview. We thank him for having given us one hour of his time and the public relations office of the prime minister for having helped us.

First we spoke about the cultural revolution and asked:

[Question] The cultural revolution is about to begin its sixth year. Thus far, numerous varied opinions have been given about this important issue and its results. How do you see the results?

We know that the beginning of this movement ended in the closure of the universities and was coupled with political motivations. Of course, in the political dimension, it can be said that it eliminated the corrupt roots of the minigroups in the scholarly centers. However, it seems that the results of the cultural revolution in the universities and the society are different. Even in the universities, it has not been successful in establishing a new order in conformity with Islamic standards. On the other hand, we are witnessing the continuation of the dependent culture which has stemmed from capitalism and its particular models in the society.

What is your opinion and what must be done?

Engineer Musavi, the prime minister, responded: This is a deep issue. Your question consists of two parts, one concerning the universities and another concerning culture in its broader and general sense. Of course these two issues are not separate. One is larger and is in a framework which includes cultural and university problems.

In regards to the general aspect, I must say that the cultural movement is unlike political change. In political change, there is a point when you turn the particular political machine upside down, eliminate it and build a new structure in its place. The structure that you build may not be similar to the previous power and government structure, in the same way that we see it in our country today.

With cultural issues, it is not possible to eliminate the structure of a particular value system at a given point and with one move, thinking that the next day we will not have anything from the past and now we have joined hands to build a new structure.

This is not true of cultural issues, which are lasting, whose effects can only be wiped off from the society slowly.

In addition, another issue that must be taken into consideration is the related human culture in the world today. In other words, we belong to a larger human family in which our stance is unique. On the surface, we are alone at the present, but under the surface, we are not alone due to our relations with the ideas, wishes and goals of the oppressed nation. For this reason, we are a target of constant cultural aggression. This shows that cultural aggression will not end as we create a change. In other words, today, when a new issue is raised, it is transferred through the press, newspapers, trips, mass media and thousands of other means to other countries. I call to your attention the Western world and its satellites. They engage in so much activity to give their programs an international flavor. In the Friday prayers in Esfahan, I made a reference, which was also made previously in other places, to the effect that what is called world culture is not, in fact, world culture but American culture. American culture disguises itself as world culture and dominates the Third world.

#### American Models

American clothing, American music, American tastes, American esthetics, American views, and American dreams, all of these are presented to the Third World countries as world models, bringing along with them the American sense of good and evil and the American value system.

However, we consider something to be global which can return true dignity to humanity, reveal and actualize the divine existence of human beings. In short, when we refer to a world culture, we mean a divine culture, which is rooted in the nature of human beings. We cannot consider the American culture as a world culture. We are the target of attack of such a culture. Under such circumstances, we need a constant cultural revolution; that

is what we have neglected. In other words, we take a step forward and think that the problem has ended. Then we realize that other symptoms have appeared. Naturally, these symptoms appear first of all because we mistakenly think that we are able to eliminate the cultural background of the previous regime. We had 2,500 years of monarchy. For more than 100 years, we had a colonial government and were under the direct influence of Europe and the United States. Besides, outside our borders we are constantly threatened. Obviously, the United States does not want the martyrdom-seeking culture which strikes a harsh blow against the United States in Lebanon and Israel and forces it to retreat to spread throughout the world. Hence, it conspires against us at every movement, culturally, politically and militarily. If we ever entertain the idea for a moment that this conspiracy has ended, that is the moment that we will become weak.

### Necessity of Constant Cultural Struggle

The problem that we have in the society stems precisely from this issue. Unfortunately, this necessity of constantly having to engage in a cultural struggle and cultural revolution in the society is not paid attention to. Sometimes, it even seems that our economic direction is under the influence of the cultural problems and cultural invasions. I will give you an example.

If we had been able to change consumption since the beginning of the revolution, we would have come 80 or 90 percent of the way. It is not necessary for us to struggle fundamentally today and have a rapid movement. The change in the consumption model goes back to the inculcated cultural order of the past regime and the structure which cannot easily be changed. Usually, in changing the cultural model of the society, we face opposition in various guises. Sometimes these guises are in the form of very complicated economic or philosophical discussions; however, the issue is much simpler.

In choosing this life and consumption model in terms of clothing, food, and so on, which strongly influences our economic structure, are the Islamic views and reported traditions so vague that we are unable to offer a model? Can we not make the government responsible for basing all its economic programs on such a model? For this reason, cultural issues are deeply mixed with such economic and political issues and create problems which must in themselves be discussed in detail.

Concerning the cultural revolution in the universities, first of all, I must say that while, as I mentioned, we need a constant cultural revolution, this does not mean that no cultural revolution has taken place in our country. Look at the fronts and the Hezbollah people and look at the Friday prayers and the

past goals and ideals of the people and you can see that a great revolution has taken place, of which the United States is afraid. My argument in the first part was that just because we have made these great gains, we cannot be sure that they are impenetrable. They are targets at every moment.

### Cultural Revolution in the Universities

In regards to the universities, early on, the motive for this movement was clear. At that time, the cultural and political motives were included in this movement and these two issues were so combined that they could not be separated. This beginning movement resulted in a rather deep purge in the universities. In other words, our universities today cannot be compared to those during the period 21 March 1980-20 March 1981; they have changed very much in terms of the rule of the Islamic forces and Islamic values. But cultural factors are very illusive more illusive than the air that we breathe. When we breathe the air, we are affected by it. Its poison and purity affects our makeup and health without our realizing it.

The cultural issue is the same. We have the open aspects of the decadent American, leftist and right-wing global U.S. culture in our universities. No one can shout non-Islamic slogans and slogans other freedom, independence and Islamic Republic without becoming the target of condemnation and curses. Therefore, the values for which the people made a revolution are in place.

But if we imagine that even in this arena the United States is uninvolved, we are mistaken.

The university can always be thought of as one spot in which our culture has the most contact with world culture.

It is precisely the same with the airports, which also have such a characteristic. There, we come in contact with various cultures. But in the universities, the issue is much deeper. Naturally, the United States and cultures that act in the name of world culture in the world have set much hope on the universities. That is why, unfortunately, we find liberal tendencies in the universities which are not congruent with the strong unity of the revolutionary slogans of the people.

In the universities, we hear arguments which cannot be rooted in the realities of the Islamic revolution and our society--precisely like the time of Bani-Sadr, when it was felt that these two issues are separate, whereas we do not consider them to be separate.

Firstly, the movement of our regime is based on ideology. We were able to destroy from the root the greatest power in the

region which was dependent on the United States. This was possible because we rely on ideology. Obviously, it was not by relying on knowledge and science in its conventional sense and no society is devoid of an ideology. As soon as we lose this ideological and Islamic vision in solving problems, another ideology will replace it.

#### Necessity of the Rule of a Value System in the Society

Today the truth that must be decisively accepted as a priority in all arenas and must exist in the regime of the Islamic Republic is a value system stemming from ideology.

The rule of ideology must govern our universities, our foreign and domestic policies, and our economy. This is not a relative principle; we cannot say that we will shift the balance somewhat to this or that side. No, we must insist on this issue decisively. I am certain that since the ideology that we propagate protects our freedom and national independence, preserves human values and dignity, and is our national honor, it will be the focus of attention for all of our experts and under which all of them can do their work.

We must not mistake this issue with the mental pollution of a few individuals who might want to infiltrate the universities with liberalism, which at one time appeared in the provisional government, and to think of it as authentic or place value on it.

The objection that is made sometimes in the universities, in my opinion, is limited to what I mentioned. But it would be a mistake to think that all of this can turn upside down at any moment. The revolutionary forces must be present on the scene at every moment. The Supreme Revolution Council must pay attention, as it does, to essential and fundamental problems.

Most importantly, we now note that the imam of the nation is paying special attention to the universities. All of this gives us hope that this issue will be dealt with in a way which responds to the needs of our society. Certainly, we will be able to improve our universities day by day.

Here I must add a few words. The universities have now changed greatly compared to before the cultural revolution. Compared to the time of the reopening of the universities, our universities are much more organized and much healthier.

I think that in the future as well, the universities, with the directives of the imam, will continue to improve. Provided all the forces are awakened, the government, God willing, will be able to follow correct policies and the Supreme Council of the cultural revolution will remain active.

## Street Demonstrations

[Question] In continuing our discussion, we must refer to the recent demonstrations on the streets against unveiling, improper veiling and the manifestations of Western culture. Firstly, attention must be paid to the roots of the appearance and growth of this dependent and foreign culture, which is partly rooted in the existing economic and social policies or those inherited from the previous regime.

Or they may be the results of incompetence and weakness, including the consumption model and the increasing unnecessary trips abroad. Secondly, we know that human nature is easily inclined to comfort and gets accustomed to such things. While we know that the main current of these demonstrations consists of Muslim and Hezbollah young people, who feel Islam opposes such corruption and in this way, without paying attention to the roots of the problem, they confront it and try to defend Islamic values, alongside this movement, some of the minigroups and counterrevolutionary currents escalate these currents and conflicts with the intention of appearing to be oppressed (which we also witnessed during the period 21 March 1980-20 March 1982), with motives of creating discontent on the part of the people of the Islamic Republic, inflicting blows on the revolution, and presenting a violent face of Islam. Also, it seems that another group, in order to make the government appear unstable and the society insecure, enters these movements and creates violent conflicts. We know that many of the alert Hezbollah members and members of the families of the martyrs disagree with such illogical and extremist actions. Now, the question is, why have the officials not dealt with these demonstrations decisively? If it has been announced that such demonstrations are illegal, why are they not prevented and why is the issue of cultural revolution not clarified for the people in all its aspects?

The prime minister responded:

[Answer] Concerning the cultural revolution, as I said earlier, we need a constant struggle. We need to change our consumption model as a part of the cultural revolution, and in this issue, the people have the greatest share. Some of the activities of the people at this point in time take this form.

As was mentioned, examples were given that show the influence of individuals who can be called "counterrevolutionaries." Two or three cases were reported to me in telephone calls by the brother ministers. One example was that a brother said that his wife had been at a doctor's office where a number of people were sitting. Several people entered and began to reproach the patients. They forced their way into the doctor's office and quite disturbed the order there. What is the result of this action? Is the person

who has gone there as a patient a counterrevolutionary? The person who belongs to the great family of our nation and is a member of the Hezbollah feels that there must be a counterrevolutionary movement behind the story. Think about the people who have someone who is hurt or ill. Think about how this issue can change the face of of Islam. Not only is this action not revolutionary, but it is non-Islamic and counterrevolutionary.

For this reason, if we face certain manifestations, such as the case I mentioned, we cannot blame them on the people's movement and the Hezbollah forces.

Another example was reported to me and I trust the person who reported it; I am sure that it is true.

A woman in an Islamic veil who is very religious--who had been religious long before the revolution--was riding in the front seat of a taxi when it was stopped and she was forced to get out. She was asked in an insulting manner why she was riding in the front seat. They began to insult this woman. The woman who told me the story was an elderly woman. We cannot by any means consider this an Islamic action. One feels that more conscious counterrevolutionary movements are behind this story.

My comment is that while we emphasize that the protectors of the revolution against the Western cultural invasion (which usually appears in the form of invasions) can be the people themselves, the people must neutralize the problem. I consider such watchfulness necessary; we must constantly alert the Hezbollah forces.

In regards to the present situation, the announcement issued by the Prosecutor's Office, I believe, must end the problem for some time. The people must wait to see if these warnings are effective and whether or not these individuals take the revolution of the people into consideration.

#### Islamic Behavior

In any case, while the government and the judicial branch must take legal measures, the people must not lose their sensitivity. The form of this sensitivity must be such that while it keeps the streets clean and creates an Islamic atmosphere, it works through guidance, warnings and perfectly Islamic and religious behavior. Those who create disruptions and problems or engage in inhumane actions must be treated more severely. This can be the policy of the government and it must insist on this issue. But it is a very vast task. In other words, wherever the people are present, the problems cannot be solved mechanically. Now, for instance, suppose that, without explaining to the people who are angry at

the lack of attention to the blood of their martyrs and their ideals, the Ministry of the Interior brings in its law enforcement agents to arrest people. Who should be arrested? The children of the martyrs or their families? The best way is, while the government announces its policy, to make the people fully aware so that they will separate their lines from those who engage in such disruptive actions. The next steps must then be taken in time.

#### Why Are the Decadent Values and Models of the Past Culture Revitalized?

[Question] Mr prime minister, in response to the first question, you referred to the constancy of the cultural revolution and you certainly remember that in the first three years of the revolution, we saw the values which had governed the society for several decades destroyed or about to be eliminated when suddenly (especially among the urban population), the decadent models and culture of the past were given new life and revitalized. What do you see as the reason for the continuation of this revitalization?

[Answer] In my opinion, the reason is the same lack of a consumption model. In that area, we made no decisions. This is one problem. Secondly, the Islamic revolution is established in terms of its official institutions and this has created an ease of mind. It has reduced general watchfulness, because Islamic revolutionary values always rule, everywhere. The demonstrations of the people are for the purpose of returning general watchfulness to the scene. We now hear that some young people wear clothes which are decorated with lights which flicker on and off. We cannot say that in the families of these young people such things did not exist, but general watchfulness would not allow them to show themselves in this way.

I think several tasks must be accomplished together. First is general watchfulness, to warn the people constantly. The officials must also believe that cultural revolution is a constant task. We must watch for every sign that can indicate illness and deal with it swiftly.

#### Necessity of Changing the Consumption Model

Secondly, today, more than ever, we need to define our consumption model and then implement it decisively in the society. Any kind of hesitation in this area will certainly have negative consequences. Perhaps at the time when the Assembly of Experts, the representatives of the people and the great religious jurist sat down and discussed foreign trade and its nationalization, they should have discussed this issue as well.



These necessities, the consumption model and cultural actions, can eliminate the problems to a great extent.

Alongside that issue, the Voice and Vision and newspapers, in my opinion, can play an important role. For instance, we have a book called "Haji Baba" by a British writer which ridicules Iranian culture during the reign of the Qajars. Even now, if you look at Western publications, they are constantly engaged in distorting our revolution or ridiculing and drawing caricatures and the like. If we look at our newspapers and the Voice and Vision, even though we have the right to do it, we never see satire on Western culture. On the contrary, it seems that we are strongly influenced by manifestations that are in place but not sensed by us. More than ever before and more than any nation, we need, firstly, to constantly question the Western value system and fight the manifestations of Western culture by every means available, through caricatures, stories and articles. We can show some of the examples. At one time, the newspapers published issues concerning the guilds--I do not remember whether it was ETTELA'AT or KEYHAN. They wrote articles and we were happy that attention was paid to this issue. This issue must be pursued strongly.

#### Slogans Against Comfort-Seeking

The second issue is that if slogans against comfort seeking are found in the media, in my opinion, this will be very effective. We find most of the deviant currents in the comfortable, Westernized strata of the society. We must fight Westernization constantly--that a large car can be a sign of status, fashionable clothes can be a sign of status, several dishes on the table can be a sign of status, and a villa can be a sign of status. We must fight these things as we did in the early days of the revolution. At that time, people were ashamed to ride in a large car and felt that all eyes were like shots directed towards them. Today, we see that this has somewhat subsided. In other words, this was not due to fear, but to the changes in the value system and automatically the changes in the consumption model people had created, but this did not become institutionalized.

Now, before it becomes an institution, becomes law, institutionalized in a sense that certain regulations determine what sort of life and consumption is desirable--and there exist instructions and prohibitions in this area--I believe the newspapers can revitalize it. Concerning comfort seeking, the

newspapers must pay attention and stress this issue strongly. Now, regardless of the comfort-seeking concerns of the officials or those in the comfortable strata of the society, it does not make any difference whether it is among the wealthy or the lower strata of the society. They might also be the same. This culture comes from above and runs down and reaches them as well. Of course, we are not on such a stage. The situation must become such that the more people are generous to the society, give martyrs, have a simpler life and strive for the revolution, the higher their status in the society must be.

The newspapers must be merciless in this regard. In other words, they must be really critical. I consider this truly one of the primary religious duties of the newspapers, to deal with this issue and pay close attention to the spirit of living simply, reliance on justice-seeking values, fairness, and fighting against the manifestations of corruption and comfort.

### The Badr Operations and Political Change

[Question] Recently, we were victorious in the Badr battle, which was an effective factor in changing some of the world balances. Besides, it seems that in the policies of Europe towards the Islamic Republic of Iran, significant change was gained. In fact, Europe's positions turned around compared to the past, which was quite apparent in their mass media. Also, in the Badr operations, when they began their propaganda invasion against the victory of Iran and we did not act properly as a result of the lack of news reports, they began to present false news and figures. Of course, after some time, they had to confess to the victory of the combatants on the Badr fronts.

Now, besides these victories, have other factors been effective in turning European policy?

[Answer] I think in order to answer this question, we must consider the situation prior to the Badr operations. At that time, the political climate created in the world established the belief that Iran did not have the power for extensive operations. Everyone spoke of a war of attrition in which no decisive, determining and severe blows could be inflicted. The research that I have seen in this one year stresses that Saddam's weapons have been able to keep Iran back, that sufficiently equipping and supporting Saddam has been an effective policy and has stopped Iran from engaging in large operations. But these operations negated all those analyses. In other words, those analyses were based on Saddam's being able to maintain a good defense and the weapons given being sufficient to keep Saddam in power.

But the Badr operations created an earthquake and once again placed Saddam's vulnerability before our eyes and those of the

whole world. If you noticed, precisely after the Badr operations, doubt was created in the world against Saddam as to whether or not to renew the credit given to Saddam. For instance, such questions as how much he owes Japan were discussed. All of this goes back to the doubt that exists in regards to the government and Saddam and its continuation. The hasty operations of Saddam in bombing our cities in itself shows this very well, and this is usually the last arrow that anyone, including the enemy, keeps in his quiver, using it as a last resort and claiming to want peace or nothing, and entering the scene from this viewpoint. All of this shows the severity of the effects of the Badr operations in the regime of Iraq and world analyses. I think, on the whole, these operations, besides having created an earthquake in their reasoning, have also made them realize how serious Iran is in its slogans to continue the war to victory. Especially, add to this issue the positions of the imam of the nation and all that followed the directives of the imam. One of these analyses I saw pointed out that the positions of the Iranian officials have become more radical. They have not, in fact, become more radical but more apparent. In this area, it has been proven that the operations have shown that what is said is not a claim but the truth.

In our situation at the present, if we want to be objective, every day it is in our interest and to the detriment of Saddam. In other words, if you look at the economic situation of Saddam and the morale of their manpower, their factories, the situation of their production or the situation of their culture, all the information that reaches us indicates their going backward and their excessive attrition. And what we have in ourselves can bring Iran victory in this match if we improve our situation and secure our position. The Westerners sense this fully, and this is realistic. One of the British publications recently had an article in a special issue devoted to the war and Iran's situation. You should certainly look at it. This shows the stabilization of the revolution which cannot be shaken so easily any more and is continually advancing. In addition to the article, there was a poster of the imam in this publication which indicates their view of our revolution. Printing a poster of the imam of the nation with all the dignity in his face in a large form in five or six columns of a publication without being an advertisement is very significant. Of course, we do not pay money like some of the other countries for the printing of advertisements. This shows the stabilization of the revolution from their point of view, when they engage on their own in publishing an article about the position and power of Iran.

Does a Moderate Faction Exist?

[Question] Has the West set its hopes on a particular faction in our country? Of course, some time ago, one of the U.S. experts

said that there is hope for a moderate faction in Iran and its coming to power. Do you think such a faction exists?

[Answer] The United States is very confused in connection with Iran. For example, one day it makes that statement and one day it claims that we are in Nicaragua. Its policies concerning Iran are constantly changing. The only faction that the United States can have hopes for gaining some status in Iran, and will not be able to do so because of the ignorance of the United States and not reality, are those forces that sometimes object to the war saying that the war to victory is meaningless. These are people whose roots and history came out of the spy nest. Otherwise, in the forces of the Islamic government, wherever we look, we see the issue of the authenticity of struggle against U.S. foreign expansionism and world devouring throughout the world. Lebanon itself is a good example in this connection. This spirit is spreading and has gone beyond our borders. In the country, too, everyone feels that dealing with the United States and standing against the United States is more deeply rooted in our society than ever before. Of course, we must not be negligent, for the liberals still have their hopes set in that direction.

[Question] The turn in European policy has been referred to. Have there been any changes in our foreign policy? Up to two years ago, whenever there was talk of imperialism and fighting it, Europe was also considered imperialistic by nature, whereas for some time now, the statements of the officials concerning the struggle against imperialism and aggression only emphasize the United States, Israel and South Africa. Apparently Europe and its nature are not spoken of. Can the European system really be considered separate from the United States?

[Answer] If we want to understand this issue, we must look at our policies vis-a-vis Europe, the Eastern bloc and the Third World on the whole. In whatever relations we have with Europe, we must evaluate to what extent we are moving in the direction of protecting the ideals and values of our Islamic revolution and to what extent we might be submissive or for what we are fighting the United States. What we feel is that no country in the world has stood up for its policy of independence like our own. We have commerce and trade. We have dealings. We exchange ambassadors. We do not even see an example in which they would hope to be able to influence our country and our officials contrary to their responsibilities and the interests of the country. They sense that the issue is very serious and the policies that we had in regards to trade have always indicated this. There have been countries from which about 25 percent of our imports were procured. At one moment we decided that, due to the same old colonialist policies that we thought those countries would implement against us, we would sever those relations, despite the severe blows which would be inflicted on our economy,

until that country reformed its position and then established relations with us. Priority is given in our country to whatever will preserve our independence. Even with 25 percent of our imports from a country, we are able to take such measures and say that we can give up such colonialist relations at the price of our independence [as published]. If there is a crisis, we explain it to the people and we are certain that the people will support us.

In connection with the trade issues, we announced to them that if they do not want to deal with us fairly, we will treat them seriously. As one item of news, you must know that recently I sent a circular letter to the effect that if they do not create a balance in their commercial exchanges, we will gradually reduce our imports from Germany, which is when they began trade in connection with oil and other items. Decisions are now made on the basis of our own independence.

#### Export of the Values of the Revolution

[Question] In connection with political independence, our country has without a doubt been able to stabilize its political independence, its revolutionary nature and its challenging spirit against oppression in the region with the help of faith, self-sacrifice, generosity and martyrdom seeking. Certainly, part of these values have been exported outside our borders. But what the committed intellectuals in the world and the oppressed note is cultural and economic independence, in other words, the values that a revolution can export. What is mostly emphasized at the present is our economic relations with the West and its satellites. Some believe that our trade relations with such countries as Turkey and Germany brings the West to the conclusion that if a more moderate policy is followed, they will be able to preserve the same economic relations. Naturally, these relations are a factor in creating cultural symptoms and their own particular social force in Iran and is a good grounds for protecting the interests of the West. On the other hand, some believe that our recent negotiations and exchanges with the Soviet Union and the fear in the West of Iran leaning towards the Eastern bloc has forced the West to soften and change its position.

[Answer] The prime minister said: Firstly, we are creating our own model in international relations. We do not have a model on the basis of which the actions of our regime are dictated. But now, in order to make the discussion simpler, we can say that some of the models which on the surface bring more economic independence are not so and we reject them. Let me give you an example. Although we have good relations with North Korea, we reject the economic relations of North Korea with the outside world. We cannot accept that kind of economy, because the values

governing their economy are quite different from ours. In regards to external relations, we do not think that those policies are practically appropriate to our economic position on the international scenes or appropriate to our economic goals in the world. Hence, we pay attention to the needs of our society and move towards self-sufficiency and being less dependent. But what course must we follow in order to achieve our goal more rapidly? The issue of relations is raised. Today, I heard on the radio that the combine manufacturing company in Arak previously imported 100 percent of its equipment. Now, we build 25 percent of it and import 75 percent from abroad. God willing, we must increase this 25 percent to 30 percent and become more self-sufficient every year. Had we closed the gates would we have reached this 25 percent more easily? Or, despite our relations, if we organize our economic relations in a way that would by no means result in political domination, must we act on the basis of a simple trade that would secure our interests and leave our hands open to trade with the whole world? This is more in our interest. We follow this course in terms of our domestic issues. Of course, every economic move has political significance. We admit this, but there is the question of priorities. We need particular commercial exchanges which amount to \$15-22 billion--in fact, if we call it exchange, we must double it. In other words, our trade and exchange of foreign goods is about \$35-40 billion.

In order to have a dynamic economy internally, we must preserve our relations with the outside world. Due to the nature of the economy that we have inherited, we cannot sever it. Well, if we want to have this relationship, the question is, What kind of trade and with which country? We purchase some goods from Turkey. If we do not purchase those goods from Turkey, we will have to purchase them from another place. We must go and purchase those goods from Canada or some other place. Now, there is the issue of priorities. We say, if we purchase these goods from a neighboring country, which can be interpreted in a political and security sense and will increase our traffic to and from that Islamic country, in our opinion, it is more in the interest of the revolution. In other words, if we add up several considerations, we see that we will benefit more from this kind of transaction on the world scene rather than going and importing the same goods from England, Germany or Japan.

Another issue is our relationship now with the Soviet Union. In this case, it must be said that first of all, the volume of our trade since the revolution has been increasing with the Third World continuously. This is a major trend in our foreign policy. The second issue is that, in practice, commercial exchanges before the revolution were in areas in which the country had to pay tribute to the West. Since the revolution, we have avoided giving tribute. On the other hand, to the same extent that we

have expanded our relations with the Third World, we must try in our commercial exchanges to create a balance in our relations with the East and the West. It is natural that this balance should be towards countries that express less hostility towards the Islamic Republic and treat us better on the world scene.

[Question] Let us set aside the previous discussion and discuss the news system in the country. Our news organization has certain shortcomings which can be a factor to turn the people to the foreign media. An instance is the two recent news developments in Mashhad and 13 Aban District of Tehran, which were ignored by the domestic mass media. Even in this connection, we heard that it was your wish not to report on 13 Aban District.

[Answer] We do not coordinate the news in our country under the war conditions, whereas this is very important to us in terms of security as well as politically. We do not interpret the coordination of news in a sense that we would not speak of the facts, but we should present the news in a way that, God forbid, the counterrevolutionaries would not take advantage of it, the enemy would not obtain the information it seeks, or the global media, which is always looking for opportunities, would not misuse it. Well, from the beginning of the revolution, we saw that, for instance, the people demonstrated by the millions, but they were reported as a few hundred thousand. Or whenever a few of the elements of the minigroups and others would gather and pretend to have created chaos in Tehran, the news would be distorted.

In connection with the war, the Iraqi rockets are launched on Tehran from 30 km away and it is not clear where they will hit (of course, we suffer damages) and it is reported with much noise through telexes throughout the world. The volume of the telex reports concerning missiles launched on Baghdad is about 1 percent, whereas we believe, and the world has also accepted, that our missiles have struck the most sensitive parts of Baghdad and the vastness of destruction and damages cannot be compared with the few destructive hits by Iraqi rockets. For this reason, we are facing such a conspiracy. Hence, it is necessary under such circumstances to cooperate not only in regards to the news but in every instance which might prove advantageous to our enemies. In connection with the rockets which were launched on Tehran, I saw several reports from foreign news agencies in Tehran. Since they were too afraid of the people to go and see the sights, they would send Iranians to do so. They would collect some news and report it with exaggeration and additions through their media. Or, in regards to the issue of 13 Aban District, unfortunately, a brother gave an interview and said things which were completely untrue. At least the domestic reporters know that it was not so.

The issue of 13 Aban District was such: Several young people bothered a woman and then the committee people got involved. Then there were fights and a person was killed. Later, a number of people became angry and a bunch of riffraff with knives also gathered there. After a short period of time, the issue was resolved by the people themselves. If the incident had been reported factually and as it occurred, that would be all right. But, unfortunately, there was no coordination in reporting the facts and then one of the brothers was reported to have given a figure of those arrested which was false. Unfortunately, there was an irresponsible understanding and dealing with the issue. We did not see much of a political motive behind it. Of course, three or four people were arrested in whom there were leanings towards the minigroups, but the issue was not as widespread as was reported.

Of course, in the incident of 13 Aban District, there were no political motives, as some had stated. Another issue that I must point out is that the hypocrites made much noise in this connection in order to divert the attention of the public from the organizational and obscene marriage of their leaders, which had created questions and doubts in the minds of some of their members and had resulted in some harm to them. It should not go unsaid that some of the false news policies have also been responsible for magnifying this incident.

[Question] When will the Cabinet ministers be presented?

[Answer] The names of persons for the above-mentioned ministries have been submitted to the president and they will be presented to the Majlis in the near future.

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CSO: 4640/544



5 June 1985

IRAN

KHAMENE'I: SKILLED, RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUALS SHOULD TEACH

Tehran BURS in Persian 10 Mar 85 pp 1, 4

[Text] The unifying and enemy defeating Friday prayer, like in previous weeks, was held with splendour in most parts of our country in the presence of those God-loving people who are ever present at the scene. The Tehran prayer this week coincided with the anniversary of the martyrdom of the devout eminent clergy martyr Seyyed Jamaledin Assadabadi. Despite heavy snowfall, the people of Tehran again demonstrated their never ending presence at the scene of the fight against world oppression. The Friday prayer was held under the leadership of Hojjatol-Eslam Val-Moslemin Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, the Tehran Friday prayer imam. He recited worship and gratitude prayers.

According to this report, prior to the sermons of this week's Tehran Friday prayer, first, brother Nayeri, the director of the imam aid committee and then Hojjatol-Eslam Savoji, the representative of the People of Paveh in the Majlis and Seyyed Mohammad Baqer Hakim, the speaker of the supreme assembly of the Islamic revolution of Iraq talked to the Friday praying masses at Tehran university and the streets surrounding it. Mr Nayeri, the director and member of the central council of imam Khomeyni's aid committee, in a talk before his sermon on the occasion of the anniversary of the establishment of the imam's aid committee, presented a report about the activities of this organ in different fields to the worshippers and said: "The imam's aid committee covers 1,060,000 deprived people in 45,000 villages throughout the country and plans to create the necessary groundwork for providing necessary conveniences for the oppressed masses of the society."

The director of the imam's aid committee, discussed other activities of this committee which took place last year such as examining the medical condition of 226,000 patients and introducing them to medical centers, distribution of over 35,000 tons of medicine and almost the same amount of food to the people covered by the aid committees and reviewing the condition of around 200,000 students of families covered by the resources of the aid committees. In explaining the role of this committee in fulfilling the needs of the warfronts he announced: "200 trucks containing gifts from the ubiquitous people to the war fronts, which have been collected by this committee along with dozens of different kinds of vehicles needed

by the war fronts were sent yesterday (Friday 15 March) from the site of the Friday prayer to the war fronts."

The other speaker, who spoke before the Friday prayer sermons this week in Tehran was Hojjat ol-Eslam Movahedi Savoji, the representative of the people of Paveh in the Majlis. In a short speech, among expressing appreciation for the blasphemy-fighter combatants of Islam at the war fronts of truth against falsehood and glorification of the precious martyrs of the Islamic revolution and imposed war, especially the Kheybar operation martyrs, which today is the anniversary of the martyrdom of those beloved ones, he referred to a part of the imam's recent message on the occasion of the anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Republic in regard to the greater use of devout, pious, and Hezbollahi people. He referred to the ever presence of the pious and devout forces of the Islamic revolution at all the Islamic fronts especially the imposed war fronts and complaints from the speakers, writers, press and other mass media for not paying enough attention to the guidance of the nation's imam and said: "If we want to protect the gains of the Islamic revolution we must take more advantage than ever of the thought and presence of the pious and devout forces of the Islamic revolution in offices and organs."

Hojjat ol-Eslam Val-Moslemin Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, the president of the supreme defense council and the Tehran Friday imam in the first prayer sermon referred to the events and bitter and sad crimes of the world oppressor mercenaries in Iran, Iraqi prisons, Lebanese villages and the martyrdom of many Muslims in this region caused by oppressive agents and offered his condolences to those who believe in freedom throughout the world.

The Tehran Friday imam then continued his discussion about society's training and teaching and the Islamic government's duty and said: "The duty of Islamic government and Islamic order is to direct education and training and to take steps towards providing education which is useful for the society and not only the kind of education which is a tool for providing bread in the societies of the third world and underdeveloped nations. It is the duty of the government and the Islamic system to clean the atmosphere of learning institutions, university and schools from wicked acts. Delaying this action will cause losses. We must immediately prevent anything which promotes corruption in the training and education atmosphere."

Mr Khamene'i referred to the inadequate educational resources regarding the great demand for education and said: "The demand for education is greater than the available educational resources. There are many more applicants for higher education than the university capacity. Therefore, the Islamic government must accept those in the educational centers who are more useful to the people. Those who tease the people and make fun of their religious ideas must not be given priority. Teaching must be assigned to skilled and responsible individuals."

The Tehran Friday imam, in his second sermon, spoke appreciatively about the services of Ayatollah Kashani, whose death coincides with these days. He referred to the important services of this valuable scholar. Then, he

discussed the dubious and sad death of the late Ayatollah Shirazi and his role during the movement of Islamic revolution said: "From the very first days of the start of the movement he was one of the faithful and high-level personalities of this movement and a source of encouragement for the fighters. He was tested at all levels. He was in prison among the corrupt individuals who were willing to collude with the Shah's SAVAK and refused to cooperate with pure, true, pious and devout clergy who were abiding by religious laws. He fought those individuals who created and developed discord in this country and who today are among the most disgraced individuals of this country and are hypocrites in the eyes of the people."

In regard to the dubious death of the late Rabani Shirazi, Mr Khamene'i said: "He was sent by the imam to Shiraz on a mission and was working in Shiraz when the imam made him a member of the council of guardians. Finally during his travels on these missions he gave his life to God. He was definitely the target of assassinations once before and God had saved his life. Therefore, his car accident was not just an accident which caused the death of this dear and valuable man. His death was mysterious and dubious. It is possible that the same criminal hand which wanted to assassinate him one day was somehow involved in his death."

The Tehran Friday imam expressed congratulations and condolences for the martyrdom of Ayatollah Rabani Shirazi from the nation's imam, to his family, the people of Fars, and the Muslim people. Mr Khamene'i, in referring to the heart-rendering news of last week, in regard to the martyrdom of ten members of Ayatollah Hakim's family first said: "Definitely, we the nation of Iran are used to fighting and we consider Jihad for the sake of God a virtue and this is not an unforeseen and surprising matter. We have had more bitter news than this during these years. We feel sorry for the costly values of human beings. The tyrant regime of Iraq has taken ten members of the Hakim family, a scholar and Sadat (descendant of prophet), from prison and executed them in front of their family's eyes. Among those executed were 60 to 70 year old men and 16 to 17 year old youngsters. What was their crime? They did not have a trial in order to be condemned to death. Iranian revolutionaries had increased their activities recently and had inflicted various and contentious blows on the Iraqi regime. Many of their mercenaries were killed by the attack of the combatants, mujahed and Muslim revolutionaries of Iraq."

Mr Khamene'i in criticizing the international organizations said: "If those organizations in favor of human rights intend to make any statement, this is the place and time for it. Have those who called the hijacking of a plane by a few rebellious persons and keeping a few persons hostage inside the plane a sad event and calamity looked at the execution of 10 decent human beings who had been imprisoned for sometime and whose activities do not justify a court to condemn them to the death penalty. The only remedy for the tyrant regime of Iraq is to be eradicated and annihilated."

Mr Khamene'i then explained the crimes of the world oppressors in Lebanon and Iran and their similarity to Ba'thist and Zionist criminals and Zionist mercenaries and said: "in a similar event, a massacre occurred last week

in Lebanon and no doubt the aggressor in the village of Moarakeh blew up a hoseyniyeh (place where the martyrdom of imam Hoseyn is mourned) and around 200 innocent civilians were killed or injured. Another similar event took place in Iran in Dezful and Masjed-e Soleyman. They were attacked by missiles and Ahjaz and Abadan were bombarded. These massacres are the work of similar agents; two agents who got together and caused these events. Today the Zionists feel weak in front of the wave of Muslim attacks and their weakness is expressed through their words and actions. Gone are the days when the aggressor Zionist forces could destroy and burn Dir Yassin or Kufor Qazem. Today the Muslims of southern Lebanon have confronted the Israeli forces in such a manner, that despite their pomposity and powerful threats, they have retreated and perish everyday by the Muslim forces. Here is where the second factor occurs. The Zionists do not want anyone to know their weakness. That is the reason they became involved in certain actions which do not have favorable consequences for any regime or organization. Those are the stealthy and dishonorable activities like placing bombs inside a mosque. It is probable that Zionist influenced agents exist among the Lebanese phalangists in order to identify the villages and blow up the gathering places of the people in the future too."

He added: "The perfect manifestation of terrorism in the world of which there is much talk in the world is the very same thief, the Zionists. The feeling of weakness by the Zionist regime, along with the desire to show power creates such events. The very same things are also noticeable in the Saddam's regime." He added: "The Saddam regime truly feels weak facing an ocean of devout Islamic forces and does not have any choice except to continue its resistance and use its malicious and filthy methods. Otherwise if Iraq had remarkable forces facing Islamic forces and was able to keep its soldiers in foxholes and behind barbed wire and if its soldiers had strong spirits and were able to fight, what factor would cause the Iraqis to hit the cities instead of fighting in the battlefields? Certainly the Iraqi system is so evil that murdering defenseless civilian people is not important to them."

The president of the supreme defense council referred to the fighting powers of the combatants of Islam in confronting the enemy and said: "We kept our self-control for 3 1/2 years while our cities were attacked and used preaching and advice. But last year we threatened to confront them in the same manner. They did not believe us at first but when Basra and other Iraqi border cities were crushed under the fire of the Islamic combatants they awakened and stopped their crimes. The second point is that you dear people must know that we will continue to confront the enemy in the same way. We will hit their border cities if they hit ours and settle accounts no more and no less. We will punish that guilty regime as much as it deserves. If we feel that they have exceeded their impudence, we will tell that unaware heedless regime and its supporters that we are able to reach targets which are more important than Basra and crush them all like Basra and other places." The president of the supreme defense council emphasized: "We did not start things and have never expressed helplessness in front of the starters and will never do so. Our answer is precise. We have learned retaliation from the Koran, the Koran says

(Arabic phrase); the nation's lives, the calmness of the cities and the tranquility of Iran and Iraq is based on punishing that criminal and shameless regime by any possible way and we will do so."

In conclusion, the Tehran Friday imam addressed world public opinion in regard to the activities of the United Nations in this matter and said: "The United Nations in a written letter has asked the officials of Iran and Iraq to refrain from attacking residential and civilian cities. I was quite surprised at the United Nations for sending such a letter to Iranian officials. As soon as we started to confront the enemy in the same manner we received the UN letter. In this letter Iran and Iraq were addressed alike. It did not refer to the one who started lighting the flame of the fire of war. Why does the United Nations behave in this manner? There is only one sentence which we would add to the UN secretary general's letter in order to tell the entire truth. This letter states that Ahvaz was attacked on Monday and Basra on Tuesday. But the letter did not specify that Iraq is a fire starter and should be ordered to stop starting fires anywhere. Also no reference was made anywhere in the letter that we have behaved accordingly in order to defend ourselves." The president of the supreme defense council asked why they are so unkind toward the Islamic Republic and its people. "We do not have any expectations from the UN. We have indicated from the start of the revolution that we do not believe in those international organizations which are under the control of the superpowers and we do not expect anything from them." He addressed these organizations and said: "When you treat the people and the revolution in such a manner you must not expect to be popular among the people and make demands as a sound and competent authority recognized by us."

The president of the supreme defense council indicated that attacks on the cities is not our aim and stated: "If Iraq stops attacking our cities we will not attack theirs. We do not like to attack cities. Likewise we have preserved our self-control for 3 1/2 years. Yesterday I asked the ministry of foreign affairs in the response to the UN secretary general's letter, to tell them that if they can, control Iraq we are willing not to attack the cities. As long as those sinful acts continue we will continuously retaliate. We will punish them and will slap them with our power and force." The Tehran Friday imam at the conclusion of this sermon gave a sermon in Arabic for the Arab Muslim brothers and sisters.

9815

CSO: 4640/503

5 June 1985

## IRAN

## HEALTH CENTERS TO BE ESTABLISHED IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 17 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] Shahr-e Kord, IRNA. In order to save African Muslims from dangerous native diseases, in the near future, Red Crescent health and treatment centers of the Islamic Republic of Iran will be established as treatment centers in some of the African countries, such as Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Mozambique, and Zanzibar and [cities such as] Dar es Salaam.

Dr Vahid Dastjerdi, the secretary general of the Red Crescent of the Islamic Republic of Iran, announced this statement in an interview in Shahr-e Kord, praised the status of our martyr-nurturing nation, which has responded positively to the call of the revered religious jurist Grand Ayatollah Montazeri and has rushed to the aid of the starving people in Africa, and said: The response of the people to helping the famine victims in Africa is very significant. Thus far, more than 1 billion rials in cash has been deposited in the accounts of this center.

Also, about 20,000 tons in goods has been set aside as aid to African countries. He added: God willing, the second ship of the Islamic Republic, containing 9,000 tons of food and medicine, will set out by late April for Tanzania and Mozambique. In this connection, the rescue personnel of the Red Crescent from various cities have left for the Port of Martyr Raja'i and are busy in the warehouses of this port packaging the donated goods from the people of Iran to the starving people of Africa.

Pointing out that on the basis of calculations, the transportation of 15,000 tons of foodstuff to Africa by two ships will cost about 200 million rials, he said: Sending the material aid of the Iranian people to African countries is not feasible. Hence, it is requested that the people donate their aid in cash through the Red Crescent, so that the funds are collected by the government and changed into foreign currency and the needed food for the famine victims is purchased from neighboring African countries and sent to them. In this way, we will not face any problems in terms of procuring and providing goods.

Concerning the Red Crescent programs for this year, he said: The establishment of emergency bases, particularly in the oppressed areas, as well as the creation of equipped camps in the war-stricken provinces for emergency situations are among the major programs of this year.

In the conclusion of this interview, announcing that the Muslim people of various cities and villages of the country have, since the beginning of the imposed war, deposited more than 6 billion rials to help the Islamic combatants in account No 7777 of the Red Crescent, Dr Dastjerdi referred to the sensitive role of this organization on the battle fronts and said: Thus far, nearly 30,000 rescue personnel have been sent to the fronts by the Red Crescent after a training course. Meanwhile, about 500-600 rescue personnel and 250 others have disappeared.

10,000

CSO: 4640/531

IRAN

BRIEFS

**1.34 BILLION-TON IMPORTS**—Reporting on its principal activities of Bahman of 1363 [21 Jan — 19 Feb 1985] Iranian customs announced that in this period 1,344,777 tons of merchandise entered the country's main customs houses, and 1,156,159 tons of merchandise valued at more than 74.564 billion rials were released from various customs houses. The weight of imported merchandise decreased 22.88 percent from the same period the previous year, and merchandise released decreased 27.3 percent in weight from the same period the previous year, 54.5 percent in terms of value. In that month, the country's non-petroleum exports totalled 15,491 tons valued at 2.321 billion rials, a 9.5 percent decrease in weight from the same period the previous year, and a 31.2 percent increase in value. According to the same report, 122,993 incoming travelers passed through air, land, and sea customs houses, 82,453 of whom were Iranians, the rest foreigners. In the same period, 122,104 travelers left the country, 92,920 of whom were Iranian, the remaining 39,184 foreigners. Customs income in Bahman of 1363 [21 Jan — 19 Feb 1985], according to the Central Bank of Iran, was more than 20,738,968,000 rials. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 8 Apr 85 p 5] 9310

CSO: 4640/543



PAKISTAN

PARTY-BASED CABINET AFTER NON-PARTY ELECTIONS CALLED RIDICULOUS

Karachi AMN in Urdu 1 Mar 85 p 2

[Editorial: "How Can Ministry Be Formed On Party Basis When Elections Have Been on Non-Party Basis?"]

[Text] Long before announcing the general elections, President Ziaul Haq had said that they would be held on a non-party basis. He said that, later on, the National Assembly would decide whether elections would be on a party basis or a non-party basis. Elections for the National Assembly have been completed. On the basis of the results, Pir Sahab Pagaro, the leader of one of the factions of the Muslim League, claims that the people belonging to the Muslim League and others having identical views with his party have gained two-thirds of the total seats in the Assembly, and, as such, the Muslim League should be entrusted with the task of forming the cabinet. He has perhaps based his statement on the hypothesis that one of the successful members of the Muslim League will be nominated as the prime minister. It seems that Pir Sahab Pagaro does not realize what he is saying. But the fact is that politics is one thing and making others laugh with one's utterances quite another thing.

The issue is that it is ridiculous to form the ministry on a party basis since the elections were held on a non-party basis. If the ministry is to be formed on a party basis, then what was the logic behind holding elections on a non-party basis? As far as Pir Sahab Pagaro is concerned, he has raised himself not only above national and provincial assemblies, but even ministerial level to a great extent. He wants for himself the role of "king maker." Now that the Islamic system of administration is being introduced in the country, it is wrong from the start for one to demand a position for oneself, leave alone considering it proper to demand a party's right to form a ministry in an assembly elected on a non-party basis. And what kind of a party?--A party which has been unable to date to prove itself to be the rightful heir of the All India Muslim League that formed Pakistan and which has become a symbol of disagreement and malice.

At one time there was a number of so-called Muslim leagues in the country. Anyone could gather together a number of people, manufacture a "Muslim League" and lay claim to be a successor of Quaid-e-Azam. This procedure has not come to an end and no one knows how many more Muslim Leagues are yet to come into existence. The Muslim League for which power and authority is now being claimed and demanded is, after all, nothing less than a collection of the very same

people who in their search for ministries, import licenses and road permits once left the Muslim League to join the Republican Party of Dr Khan Sahab, who once belonged to the Congress Party. These are the very same people who formed the Convention Muslim League to strengthen Ayub Khan's dictatorship.

Now these people are openly demanding that power should be transferred to the Muslim League. Knowing the record of their previous deeds, can anyone honestly agree that they are worthy of their demand for transfer of power?

The issue of transfer of power can only be raised when the logic of the demand for forming a ministry on a party basis in an assembly elected purely on a non-party basis is explained satisfactorily. It has been made clear that the prime minister will be nominated by the president. This places a very huge responsibility on the president. It is impossible to imagine that the president would nominate anyone lacking in wisdom and political understanding, anyone who does not have the capability to understand national problems or is incapable of dealing with domestic and foreign issues. A person possessing such qualities can be anyone in the Assembly. The president held elections on a non-party basis and is not bound to transfer power to a particular party and entrust it with the task of forming the ministry. General elections have been held on a non-party basis. It is quite a different matter that some defunct political parties like the defunct Muslim League and the defunct Jamaat Islami contested the elections on party basis. But the president is not bound to select the prime minister from the Senate instead of the National Assembly. It may be mentioned here that many so called "bureaucrats" and "technocrats" aspiring to become ministers eagerly look forward to becoming members of the Senate. Under such conditions how far it is possible to meet the demands of Muslim League or, for that matter, any other party is something that deserves careful consideration.

Our politicians have become accustomed to indulging in useless problems for which the whole nation has been suffering for quite sometime. The general elections have provided a very good opportunity to change the power-hungry leadership lacking in thinking power. Some changes have taken place, but full-scale changes are yet to come. The main reason for this is that our country is lacking in uniformity of thought. But the general elections have awakened in the people a sense of awareness that they have the power and capability of bringing about changes. If the democratic process continues, then opportunities will be available to the people at regular intervals to bring about the desired changes in their leadership.

9315

CSO: 4656/97

PAKISTAN

## ZIA URGED TO SUBMIT AMENDMENT DRAFTS FOR DEBATE

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 5 Mar 85 p 3

[Editorial: "Effects of One-Sided Constitutional Amendment"]

[Text] The constitutional amendments decreed by President Ziaul Haq have not only been disapproved by trusted and reliable political elements, but a large number of former judges have also declared them violations of constitutional principles. These include former Chief Justice Aftab Hussein of the Federal Islamic Religious Court, retired Justice Zakiuddin Paul, retired Justice Shaikh Shaukat Hussain, retired Justice Dilawar Mahmood, retired Justice A.R. Changiz, retired Justice Dorab Patel, former Chief Justice Anwar'ul-Haq of the Supreme Court and many other former judges. According to these judges, the amendments made by the president are fundamental in nature and have changed both the letter and the spirit of the 1973 Constitution. They say that the president does not have the authority to make such changes at all, particularly at a time when the parliament that is the elected institution of the people has just been formed. They add that, instead of asking the parliament to make a decision on the matter, it was absolutely wrong and improper for the president to take the initiative and decide it personally.

The president can defend his constitution-making role on the basis of the referendum. But it is quite clear that the whole process of referendum as it was conducted is a controversial and questionable procedure. In contrast, the national conscience is fully satisfied about the free, fair and impartial nature of the elections of the assemblies. As such, the right of making the all-important decision should rest solely with the national and provincial assemblies. It is in the interest of the country and the nation to recognize this fact and forget the referendum; otherwise, sooner or later, there is bound to be a confrontation between the president and the elected representatives of the people. It is quite possible that this confrontation may not be perceptible in the initial stages, and President Ziaul Haq may temporarily succeed in suppressing and dominating the Assembly, thus proving himself to be a super power above the assemblies. But this state of affairs will not last long, and national and provincial assemblies which are forced to accept things today will, at the opportune moment, throw aside the shackles and deliver themselves free from those people who had been imposing restrictions on them. They may also try to avenge themselves. As such, it is proper for the president, who is also the representative of the army, not to try to dominate the elected representatives of the people, because this will nurture ill-will and resentment.

The straightforward and right thing would be to allow the assembly to assert itself without any hindrance whatsoever, as is the case in democratic countries. No attempt should be made to dominate the assembly through various kinds of craftiness and artificial restraints. If our rulers do not like the parliamentary system of government and a prime minister vested with authority and they really desire to introduce a presidential system of government in the country, then they should choose the path of honesty and hold elections in which all candidates wishing to contest for the presidency should be allowed to participate, and the candidate elected by the voters should have full power and authority. But, in this case, the president cannot have autocratic powers. Even the presidential form of government is made up of a senate and congress, and, in the event of their opposition, the president does not have the right to enforce his favorite constitution or constitutional amendments.

The situation arising as a result of the amendments decreed by the president points to the fact that our ruling class is the victim of lack of confidence in the people and their elected representatives, and, despite holding elections according to its will, choice and method, is not prepared to trust the representatives of the people chosen by the electoral process and looks upon them with suspicion, wishing to keep them under its domination to remind them that they are not free and autonomous. But this lack of confidence, instead of resolving the situation, will further complicate and confuse the issues and finally result in nothing short of confrontation. President Ziaul Haq, instead of declaring his amendments as final, should await the elected leaders of the elected Assembly to come forward and after discussing the constitutional amendments with them, should have them approved and made final in a spirit of understanding and mutual accord. This is not impossible. The other alternative is that, instead of choosing the lengthy and difficult procedure of rejecting or reviewing the constitutional amendments made by the president, the Assembly should be allowed the easy and simple method of accepting or rejecting them. If the members of the Assembly do not approve these amendments they should be able to reject them without any difficulty and present a draft of alternative amendments to the president. A unanimous decision could then be reached after discussing them. Otherwise it must be borne in mind that something which can be imposed by force is not something that can last forever.

9315

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5 June 1985

## PAKISTAN

## STRONG CONCERN VOICED OVER FOREIGN DEBT

GF131630 Lahore NAWA-E WAQT in Urdu 10 May 85 P 3

[Editorial: "Only to Console Oneself!"]

[Text] The federal minister for finance and planning, Mr Mahbubul Haq, has expressed happiness and satisfaction, in fact, pride on the fact that the proposal for economic aid to Pakistan as approved by the aid consortium at its Paris session is much more than the 1.8 billion crores demanded by Pakistan. In fact it is to the tune of 2.1 billion and 1 crores for the year 1985-86. He has attributed it to "praise for Pakistan's economic system and a sign of open support for the newly-elected government's policies."

In light of the difficulties encountered by developing countries in obtaining foreign aid, the minister's pride does not seem misplaced but in practice it seems an attempt to console oneself because financial aid is always a foreign loan which has to be returned with interest after a specific period. It would have been much more realistic if the minister had mentioned the extent of the burden of foreign debt on Pakistan at present, how much interest we pay annually, the amount paid in installments and now with the amount of aid sanctioned by the consortium, and how much of it will be disbursed in the form of installments and interest for the loans previously incurred.

Dr Mahbubul Haq's silence makes no difference because it is no secret. Pakistan is weighed down by \$12 billion of foreign aid, the interest and installments of which amount to \$1 billion and whenever new loans are incurred 50-60 percent of the amount goes toward repayment of previous loans. The former president of the Pakistani Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Mr Mohammad Yusuf Zia, had also referred to this with great regret saying that even though Mr Mahbubul Haq is considered an eminent economist of international fame and the people expect him to find a plausible solution to the economic problems of the country, when he speaks of economic issues, politics seems to creep in. This observation by Mr Yusuf Zia may be bitter but close to reality!

CSO: 4656/134

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